DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 314 949 FL 018 303

AUTHOR	Macero, Jeanette D., Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Realizing the Dream. Selected Conference Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the New York State Teachers of English as a Second Language (17th, Buffalo, New York, November 6-8, 1987).
INSTITUTION	New York State Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, New York.
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	132p.; For individual papers, see FL 018 304-314.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Books (010)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Educational Assessment; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; Foreign Students; Haitians; Hispanic Americans; Holistic Approach; *Immigrants; Information Sources; Interviews; Learning Strategies; Needs Assessment; Questioning Techniques; Refugees; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Student Attitudes; Student Evaluation; Teacher Attitudes; Teaching Methods; Writing Instruction
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; China; Content Area Teaching

ABSTRACT

Selected papers presented at a conference on the contributions of and to the new immigrants in North America include: "Realizing the Dream" (Len Fox); "From Gattegno to Freire: Musings on a Decade Gone By" (James A. Lydon); "The New Immigrants" (Doris W. Koo); "Haitian Immigrants in the U.S.: Migration and Identity" (Georges Fouron); "Northern Horizons: Latinas in the New Immigration" (Virginia Sanchez Korrol); "The Teaching of Writing: Toward a Pedagogy of Questions" (Vivian Zamel); "What Are We Rating When We Rate Holistically?" (Mark S. Patkowski); "An ESL Needs Assessment: Chinese Students at a Canadian University" (Yilin Sun); "Adaptive Instruction and Second Language Learning: The Dilemma" (Nancy Tumposky); "Interviews with Students and Colleagues: What Can We Learn?" (Elaine Brooks); "Cognitive Strategies for Integrating ESL and Content Area Instruction" (Carol Numrich); and "Realizing the Dream: A Bibliographic Essay" (Patricia Forton). (MSE)

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Selected Conference Proceedings: Realizing the Dream

New York State
Teachers of English as a Second Language
Seventeenth Annual Conference

November 6-8, 1987
Buffalo, New York

Edited by
Jeanette D. Macero, Syracuse University
Barbara J. Agor, Rochester Teacher Center
Nancy Tumposky, Montclair State University

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Selected Conference Proceedings: Realizing the Dream

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Credits

Design/Layout: Quality Communication, Rochester, New York
Printing: St. Vincent's Press, Rochester, New York
Book produced on a Macintosh SE and Macintosh II, using Aldus *PageMaker*, *Microsoft Word* and *Microsoft Works*

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 89-062908

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A Note from the Editors

In 1970 a small, dedicated group began a new organization, NYS ESOL BEA, dedicated to serve the needs of those in ESOL and bilingual education. Over the years, the organization has expanded both its membership and its services, which include an annual fall conference; *Idiom*, a quarterly newsletter; One Day Mini Area Conferences (ODMACs) held in every part of the state; a variety of position papers, and much, much more.

Now in its 19th year, NYS TESOL is proud to present *Selected Conference Proceedings*. This volume contains many of the fine presentations given at the Annual Conference held in Buffalo, New York, November 6-8, 1987. The conference theme was *Realizing the Dream.*

This volume would not be possible without the efforts of the authors represented. We thank them for taking the time to turn excellent presentations into excellent articles that will give the reader additional insight into the problems facing our field today.

In addition, we are grateful for help and encouragement from Jim Lydon, President of NYS TESOL, 1986-87, and Len Fox, Conference Chair, 1987.

Lastly, much of the considerable spirit and success of the Conference was the result of the work of the local committee members: Martha Hansen-Zimmer, Dorothea Heberle, Patrice Lancelot, Marilyn Muirhead and Susanna Stevens.

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LEN FOX
Brooklyn College, CUNY

Realizing the Dream: Preface

The purpose of NYS TESOL's Seventeenth Annual Conference, *Realizing the Dream*, was both to celebrate the contributions of our country's immigrants and to question the extent to which America has opened its doors to these latest newcomers.

In a recent sermon at Judson Memorial Church, *Is the American Dream Dead?*, the Reverend Howard Moody said, "America is more of a promise than a place; more a vow of what we propose to be than who we actually are."

Certainly, the speakers at the Friday night plenary session, "The New Immigrants," echo Moody's view that the American Dream has not been realized by many of the newest Americans. Virginia Sanchez Korrol read Pat Mora's poem of the struggle of a Hispanic woman who pushes herself forward with the thought, "If I stop trying, I will be deaf when my children need my help." Georges Fouron spoke of the plight of Haitians, as being "twice Black": they are ostracized by Americans for being Black, and ostracized by Blacks for being Haitian. Doris Koo exploded the myth of the successful Asian-American "model minority," discussing the situation of the many who suffer from poverty and discrimination, and even the educated, who are in danger of being treated as "hi-tech coolies."

The question arises, what can we as ESL teachers do to improve this situation? First of all, we can learn compassion for our students by understanding the difficulties of their background and family situation. But our most essential job is to teach these students English in the most effective way possible. Some excellent suggestions on how to achieve this goal were offered by our Saturday afternoon plenary speaker, Vivian Zamel. Zamel spoke against a teaching methodology in which the teacher knows "the answer" and checks to see if the students do, and for an open-ended "pedagogy of questions," in which teachers and learners join in a spirit of mutual inquiry, creating an environment that will foster intellectual growth.

At our Saturday evening plenary, Jim Lydon reviewed some important recent developments in language teaching theory and practice, and called for "empowering education" that would allow teachers and students "to reach into themselves for solutions to the problems they face."

Further suggestions on how to make our ESL instruction as effective as possible are offered by the authors of the other selected papers, considered among the finest presented at the Conference. Tumposky considers how instruction can be adapted to different learning styles, and Numrich, how cognitive strategies that are applied to content-area subjects may also be applied to ESL. Sun considers the perceived needs of a group of Chinese college students, Brooks, how ESL students are coping with writing assignments in their college courses, and Patkowski, a crucial aspect of ESL testing. This collection concludes with Patricia Forton's bibliographic essay, "Realizing the Dream," prepared for this collection.

I hope that your reading of these papers will, in Zamel's words, "lead to discoveries and insights and, as in the case of all learning, to new questions that have yet to be explored."

Part I

An Overview

JAMES A. LYDON
LaGuardia Community College, CUNY

From Gattegno to Freire: Musings on a Decade Gone By[1]

Much has changed in the field of language teaching since, eight years ago, we were last in Buffalo for a NYS TESOL conference. In one sense, that year, 1979, can be understood as a transition year, one which marked the beginning of a shift away from an infatuation with methodology toward a more cerebral approach to language teaching and learning which began to take effect starting around 1980.

The early 1970s witnessed the irrevocable break from the behaviorist hold that audio-lingualism held on the language teaching world, and a fresh perspective, derived from cognitive code psychology and Chomskian linguistics, swept through the profession. The wave of methods born of this perspective, most notably the Silent Way and later Community Language Learning, held us in its sway for a good part of the decade. (Blair, 1982 and Oller & Richard-Amato, 1983 provide excellent accounts of these and several other methods.) It was a time when language teachers were identified by the methods they used, and conference workshops on methods were routinely filled with novice and experienced teachers alike each in their quest for the methodological "golden fleece" (Nadler, 1983). Alas, it was to no avail. By the end of the decade, things began to change. The question was still the same: "What method do you use?" but the answer was more likely to be "I am eclectic." And only a few short years later, the 1983 NYS TESOL conference theme asked the question, "Where Have All the Methods Gone?" The flood had receded.

In general, the eighties have had less to offer language teachers in terms of quick fixes. It does not take long to learn that quick fixes are just that, quick and temporary at best. What appears at a conference to be a sure-fire technique designed to work on Monday morning most often does not. And those of use who saw this method or that as the answer to all of our problems, but who were not willing to swim down deeply to get to the foundations upon which the methods rested, were often in for disappointment.

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[1] This is a slightly revised text of the President's Message delivered at the Seventeenth Annual New York State TESOL Conference, November 6-8, 1987 in Buffalo, New York.

Now I don't mean to suggest that the eighties have been uneventful, for although the current decade has not experienced the rush and excitement that characterized the seventies, I think that during the period of time since we were last here in 1979, we have undergone some pretty profound changes or, better, shifts in the way many of us view language teaching and learning. Two changes especially come to mind as having had a particularly significant impact: one is Krashen's input hypothesis (1982) and the other, the focus on learning processes. Not only have these two notions captured the imagination of many, and in so doing significantly altered our understanding of how languages are acquired, they have, more importantly, helped lay the groundwork for a potentially richer pedagogy yet to come and one which I will refer to later in this talk.

The input hypothesis posits that language is best acquired (some would say *only* acquired) in environments where learners are engaged in the language for the purpose of negotiating meaning and not when they are focused on the language as the object of study. The hypothesis suggests that in fundamental ways, the processes involved in second language acquisition are remarkably similar to those that children utilize to acquire their first language.

A good deal of research (see especially Gass and Madden, 1985) has lent support to the hypothesis, and approaches to the teaching of language have been modified as a result. More teachers, for instance, have developed a greater respect for an initial silent period where students at beginning levels of proficiency are given more opportunity to engage input without being required to attend much to production. This has led to a rethinking of the role of listening comprehension and its place in the language curriculum. (See Burling, 1982 for a good overview.) Similarly, much more attention has been placed on the efficacy of extensive reading as a rich source of input for learners. (See Krashen, 1985, especially chap. 7.) And in general, there has been a move away from presenting language in the context of grammatical items in favor of providing students with texts compelling, interesting, and challenging enough to draw students directly and intimately into the negotiation for meaning without much conscious attention paid to the text's surface structure. In short, the input hypothesis has made the "making of meaning" a central focus in language learning.

A second major influence on the field of language teaching in the past few years has been the growing attention that we are now paying to the ways students go about the "doing" of learning. Most of us are most familiar with the impact that this idea has had on the teaching of writing, where many teachers now attend much more carefully to the process that students undergo in the production of a written piece. (See Raimes, 1985 and Zamel, 1985 for ESL application.) Efforts are made to work more closely with students to help them identify and define the processes that govern their production of text and to help them where possible to uncover more productive strategies.

The writing process movement has helped to bring to a level of awareness the need for audience and the demand that writing makes to be read. Students, as a result, are encouraged not only to develop a sense of audience but to serve as audience for their colleagues in mutual reading and critique of each other's work. For this to happen, writing needs to have purpose. No longer can we settle for what one writing process scholar has referred to as "writing by nobody for nobody" whose only purpose, in most ESL settings, at any rate, was to serve as a grammar test. We need to work toward the construction of writing contexts in which the need to write and to share writing will be obvious and compelling.

Interest in *how* students do what they do and how we can assist in identifying alternative strategies is not limited to writing. John Murphy (1985) has done research into the strategies students employ as they attempt to assign meaning to oral input—what we might call the listening process—and many of us are by now familiar with the work that has been done in the area of the reading process. (See Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983 for a good overview; see also Smith's classic on reading, 1982.) Schema theory, for example, has taught us that comprehension of text may be more a function of what's in a person's head, that is, what he or she brings to the text, than what is on the printed page. Whether or to what extent this is true, it seems to have become almost axiomatic that reading is a dynamic, interactive process between author and reader so that my understanding of the text, and therefore my interaction through the text with the author, cannot be yours because we each bring something different to it. Our varied understandings are themselves mediated through dialogue.

What I find of particular value in the process approach is the interaction and the dialogue that it encourages and its potential for eventual action. No longer the knower and judge, the teacher now serves in collaboration with the learner in a mutual discovery process that leads to a new state of knowing on the part of both teacher and student. Done well, student-to-student interaction can have the same empowering effect.

It is because of the radical reorientation that the input hypothesis and process theory require of language teachers that I believe that they are such an important influence on the profession. And what is especially exciting and refreshing about this new orientation is the shift in emphasis away from the language and onto the learner. It is from the learners that we must take our cues as we seek to provide input that is comprehensible, and it is only through constant interaction and dialogue with the learners, collectively and individually, that we can together discover the processes on which they rely to make meaning in the second language.

Come to think of it, perhaps we are not so far removed from the seventies as was first suggested. Wasn't the Silent Way, for example, really all about "the subordination of teaching to learning" (Gattegno, 1972)? Many of us overlooked this simple but profound prescription as we frantically tried to find our way through the maze of fidels and in search of more creative uses of cuisenaire rods after we finished our lessons on colors and comparatives. And it was Father Curran (1976) who taught us at the time that no matter what else, unless we were attending to the whole learner, including not insignificantly his affect, we could not expect much in the way of results. Here too, many of us mistook the medium for the message, and tape recorders and transcripts assumed a wrongful primacy in many of our classrooms.

The message of Curran and Gattegno was not about methods or techniques but about teaching and learning and especially about resituating students back into their rightful place in that process. While they each developed elaborated methods, they would both no doubt agree that these methods are rendered meaningless without an approach upon which to found them. Approach, as Anthony (1972) has told us, is that set of assumptions and beliefs about teaching and learning that we hold and that inform our classroom practice. It is, simply put, our theory. And it is the fundamental responsibility of TESOL professionals, as it is of all educators, to work constantly to fuse our theory and our practice.

The fusing of theory and practice is not a one-time event, and it should in no way be thought to be a static process. Rather, theory and practice exist in an ever changing dialectical relationship with each other—each continually forming and reforming the other as a result of ever new and different interactions with students and colleagues. Professional growth is the product of this dialectic. A wise person once observed that a teacher of ten years may be said to have ten years' experience or to have one year of experience repeated ten times. The variable here is professional growth, a process which is not easy, which does not come about in short order and which, to a large extent, depends upon a school environment which nurtures and encourages it.

Unfortunately, such environments are often hard to find in schools. The current bureaucratic structure of schools has made it possible, and for many attractive, to foreclose on their obligation to grow professionally and in so doing to bring to the classroom a continually evolving and refined pedagogic practice infused with theory—one that combines a depth of understanding of the teaching and learning process with, for language teachers, a sensibility to the classroom conditions necessary for language acquisition.

In all too many cases, teachers have abdicated to school administrators and others much of the classsroom authority and decision making that rightfully is theirs. The results have been the plethora of prescriptive texts and programs which have substituted for thoughtful student-centered pedagogy as publishers have happily rushed to fill the void left by teachers' forfeiture of their pedagogical responsibility. It is no surprise, then, that the status of the teaching profession and, in many places, the quality of teaching have declined, as the seemingly unending wave of educational reform movements begun in 1983 serves to remind us.

But the historical rubble heap of attempts at educational reform stands high, and the current ones will surely join them. Gregory Bateson (1972) tells us that the only difference that matters is the difference that makes a difference. A few extra dollars, even a few thousand extra dollars and some adjustments in teaching conditions, do not constitute a difference that makes a difference. The difference that will, will come only with teacher empowerment, and empowerment, as Freire says, can only come from within and is never imposed from without (Freire, 1970).

Teacher empowerment derives first and foremost from a commitment to a rigorous intellectual life, to a choice to work at an intellectual depth to which many in education have become unaccustomed. But it is only at this depth that theory is able to unite with practice. The liberating effect of empowerment is the ability to find inside ourselves, through dialogue with others, answers to questions we normally seek from administrators, so-called master teachers, conference presenters and the publishing industry. Only empowered teachers will reform the schools.

And what of student empowerment? This is a question whose answer has profound implications for TESOL professionals and for all educators who are committed to the education of students at risk. I use the term "at risk" cautiously because of the temptation that exists to assign the cause of risk to the student instead of to the society that creates the conditions for some people, mostly minority and working class youth, to have no choice but to be at risk.

I have argued in a recent column in *Idiom* (1987) that race, class, and gender-based inequality are rampant in society and that they are not only reflected in our schools but are in fact reproduced there. But rather than see this as problematic, that is, as something which in itself should be the focus and the subject of education and consequently something that must be probed and questioned, taught, understood and resisted, we often accept inequality and injustice as taken-for-granted, as given, and we go about our lives trying to make the best of a bad situation. We are, after all, teachers, not social activitists. We do language, not politics.

Paulo Freire would disagree. For him, education is a political act and we teachers, like it or not, are political actors. Our actions may manifest themselves in an uncritical, non-reflective response to the conditions we face, but even that is a political statement.

For Freire, empowering education is political education. Just as the liberation of teacher empowerment is derived from teachers, in community and dialogue with others, developing the ability to reach into themselves for solutions to the problems they face, so too must it be with students. For Freire, and for many of us involved in education, student empowerment emerges when students are enabled to become themselves critical of the taken-for-granted assumptions that condition their lives and render them passive. In this view, injustice, inequality, and lack of access, and how schools participate in their construction, become the focus for student analysis.

As educators, we can choose to remain passive and accepting of the current discriminatory social order. We can continue the disempowering role of depositing accepted knowledge into the passive minds of our students and then evaluating their equally uncritical understandings. This is not empowerment. This is reproduction. The underlying approach, the theory that informs this kind of traditonal pedagogy, is what Freire calls "the banking concept of education" (1970). It is one that maintains that the goal of education is for teachers to produce replicas of themselves and of their value systems. In an exploitative and unjust world, that means reproducing exploitation and injustice.

Education for empowerment, on the other hand, starts with the assumption that knowledge is not a commodity to be transferred from one agent and stored in another. Rather it views education as a process in which students and teachers, in a dialogical interchange, examine given knowledge in critical ways. What emerges from this dynamic is knowledge that the student now owns—knowledge that she or he has actively acquired through engagement and critical reflection.

The current conservative political climate thrives on passive acceptance and silence. The term "silent majority" was more than mere rhetoric on Spiro Agnew's part. Rather it was the fulfillment and, in a perverse sort of way, a validation of what John Dewey back in the 1920s identified as a growing national pathology: namely, the erosion of an articulate people, coming together in a public space in conjoint activity and critical dialogue (Dewey, 1927).

Last night I suggested that the movement to make English the official language of the United States is immoral. I believe that is so because of what I sense to be its hidden agenda, namely, to silence, to render voiceless, large segments of American society.

As TESOL professionals, we work with students who are silenced in a variety of ways. They are silenced by their inability to use English as a medium for dialogue and for self-expression; and they are silenced as well by lack of access, by inequity and inequality. I see our task as dealing with both silences. Yes, we must help students to develop an English voice to be sure, but we need to help them as well to develop another kind of voice, a political voice, one that rejects as invalid the silence of the silent majority and one that can be used to demand a piece of the dream that America claims is available to all.

Language teaching has changed, I have suggested, as a result of our new understanding of how languages are acquired and by our interest in working with students in the learning process. These developments make meaningful the role for critical pedagogy in the language learning classroom. Critical pedagogy seeks to empower students through dialogue to achieve greater levels of social understanding and control. I commend the work of Freire to you and hope that this weekend together, devoted to ways of thinking about how we can help our students realize the dream, and my remarks this evening, have inspired you in some small way at least to begin the process of empowerment through language teaching, and to lead the way, as we have so often in the past, for educators in other disciplines to follow. Thank you.

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Part II

Opening Session: Panel on "The New Immigrants"

DORIS W. KOO
Asian Americans for Equality

Conference Opening Session: Panel on "The New Immigrants"

I'd like to begin the presentation by reading from an essay by Jeffrey Scheuer, *Legacy of Light*, written in commemoration of the 100th year celebration of University Settlement, the oldest settlement house in New York City.

> Cast yourself back in time to New York City of the late 19th century. Imagine you are standing on the Brooklyn Bridge, the latest marvel of American engineering, looking westward toward Manhattan on a warm summer evening. As the sun goes down and the lights of the city begin to twinkle, you notice a curious void in the skyline: a whole section of the shoreline, beginning just north of the far end of the bridge and extending uptown for about a mile, remains dark. This dark area is the Lower East Side. Although it has no electricity—and no public parks—the neighborhood contains the densest crowding of human habitation anywhere in the world.
>
> Crossing the bridge and walking north on Eldridge or Allen Street, you would be vaulted into a city within a city, where the sounds of Russian, German, and Yiddish are heard; where a pungent smell of vegetables fills the heavy, stale air. The narrow streets are crowded and noisy, with pedestrian traffic, pushcarts, and horse-drawn wagons competing for room on the muddy cobble. Surrounding on all sides are dark, shabby tenements, five and six storey walk-ups, most of them without plumbing.
>
> Reaching Delancey Street, you would find people sleeping in the grassed enclosures dividing that boulevard: whole families have brought their bedding here to escape the stifling heat and crowding of the tenements. Others are sleeping on fire escapes.

> Most of these people were immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe: Rumania, Hungary, and the Russian pale. And in some respect, they had never known such freedom. In Russia, for example, the Jews—when not actually massacred in pogroms—were confined to the towns of the western pale; they could not own or deal in real estate, hold public office, or work for the Czarist government, even as common laborers; and they were allowed very limited educational opportunities.
>
> But they did not easily adapt to the chaotic freedoms of the New World, and disillusionment was common: they found, not milk and honey, but poverty and crime, political corruption and yellow journalism. The work available to them was menial.
>
> Indeed, the immigrants not only lived in squalor, but worked in it as well. With the labor movement still in its infancy, and little government regulation, they formed a vast pool of unskilled labor for the garment industry. Working for meager wages, in crowded, uncomfortable, and dangerous sweatshops, they endured the most exploitive conditions in American history after the end of slavery, producing about half of the ready-made clothing sold in the United States.
>
> Few of them spoke any English; and the fact that their children learned the new language more quickly only intensified the generational tensions in their culturally uprooted families. It was hardly an ideal place for a child to grow up: aside from the sweatshops and street peddlers the most ubiquitous forms of commerce in the district were saloons and houses of prostitution.

Much has changed since 1880, and yet so little was changed. The Lower East Side is still inhabited by immigrants, but instead of Russian, German and Yiddish, you will now hear Chinese, Vietnamese and Spanish. Over 100,000 Chinese still live in those dark, crowded tenements, whole families of five or six, paying one third of their family income in rent. Our streets are still filled with peddlers and vegetable stands; our parks with drugs, crime, and gangs. Over 1,000 Asian immigrants work in Chinatown sweatshops; most of them are women. They hunch over their machines for 10 hours a day, six days a week, earning as much as their hands can sew.

Just as other immigrants before them, Asians bring with them energies, strong survival instincts, and dreams for a better future. We are often considered the "model minority"—hard working, serious, and diligent in pursuing education. Newspapers tell success stories of our Westinghouse students, our Ivy League scholars, our Nobel Prize winners. Talk is made of our 24-hour Chinese take-outs, Japanese sushi, and Korean green grocers. While these are true generalizations of our communities, they tend to obscure the racial discrimination and poverty we also face. Like many ethnic communities in New York City, Asian Americans must cope with the same day to day problems of survival.

The 1980 census figures showed that there were about 80,000 Chinese living in Chinatown. Now there is an estimated 150,000. Chinatown is definitely growing—from immigration, family reunification, and others coming in search of jobs. And as it grows, there is no affordable housing to meet its demands.

At the same time, around the immediate vicinity, the financial district is encroaching. In recent years, we have seen the growth of Wall Street, the World Trade Center, and Battery Park City, which will become the future headquarters of Shearson American Express, on landfill just to the west of Chinatown in Lower Manhattan. We have the growing Lower East side, which is absorbing more and more displaced artists from the Village area, and also is becoming an area of exorbitant rents. We see the encroachment of waterfront development, the South Street Seaport, to the south of Chinatown. Basically, a community that has been situated in a location for over a hundred years is now being boxed in by a speculative real estate market, by lucrative development incentives and profit motives. And as a result of all these, housing has become an endangered species in the Chinatown community.

There are many landlords who are trying to evict their rent-controlled and rent-stabilized tenants so as to convert their apartments into cooperatives and condominiums. There are multi-million dollar developers trying to build and eyeing to tear down existing old buildings—and housing is old: about 60% of Chinatown's housing stock was built before 1901. The housing shortage is by far the most serious problem affecting Chinatown. Once there is a fire, once you are evicted, once you lose your home because of a domestic dispute, you may never find another apartment or home in Chinatown.

Another problem that has led to the growing number of homeless cases is a breakdown of social fabric among Asian families. We have seen many more incidences of domestic violence and divorce. Men as well as women are affected even though battered women are rapidly becoming a group that is in great need of social services. Because of the feudal bond that still exists within Asian families, women are not expected to complain when they are battered or abused. When they do leave, their husbands try to track them down by any means to drag them back home. So shelters for battered women as well as mental health counseling are also becoming a real urgent outcry for the Asian communities.

And then we are just hit with overall poverty and the lack of resources. Because of language problems, new immigrants do not understand what exists in the world outside of Chinatown. They do not know what help may be available or how to get it. They are forever trapped by this image of the "model minority," that you are supposed to pull yourself up by your bootstraps. Even the ones who have seemingly made it find it difficult to keep going, at the time when the "model minority" has evidently "topped out" on corporate ladders, and have reached a dead end.

This model minority image continues to be a stereotype that hides the real class division which separates the Asian community from itself, a stereotype which presents a false image that comes back to haunt us in the form of anti-Asian violence, police brutality—as in the tragic death of Vincent Chin, a 26-year-old engineer—and frequent hostilities from our own neighbors.

Recently, flyers were sent around the Bensonhurst community in Brooklyn, where most residents are Italian and Jewish. The flyers called for a total boycott of Asian families seeking to buy homes in the community, and a boycott of Asian businesses in order to prevent a take-over by the so-called "Chinese drug dealers" and "Korean Moonies."

Very often Asians are criticized for keeping to themselves, for being apolitical or anti-social. Yet at times when we do participate, when we speak out against social injustice such as police brutality or incidents such as occurred at Howard Beach, we are told to "Go back to China if you don't like it here."

I guess the paradox faced by most Asian immigrants is the promise of equal opportunity on the one hand, and the reality of hardship and non-acceptance on the other.

For the middle class and professionally educated immigrants from Asia, gaining back your former social and economic status is not an easy task in this country. Mr. Boon, a Ph.D. chemist who worked as a researcher in a major corporation for 13 years, was abruptly fired when he asked for a promotion to a managerial position. When he filed a complaint with the company's chief executive officer or CEO, he was further blacklisted by the powerful New Jersey company. Two years later, even after a small settlement won through filing a federal discrimination lawsuit, he still could not find work in New Jersey. Last year, he finally uprooted his family and moved to the midwest.

For the poorer and less educated, immigration could mean upward mobility, or a curse. Fourteen years ago, I met a typical Chinese immigrant family in Chicago's Chinatown. The father worked as a cook in a Chinese restaurant, the mother sewed in a garment factory. They had four children. Cathy, the oldest, was nine when she arrived. Her brother, King, was seven. There were two younger sisters. Cathy couldn't speak a word of English. Neither could King. When they went to register at the local public school, they both failed the entrance exam and the IQ test. Cathy was categorized as mentally retarded and put in a slow learners' program. King was diagnosed as having learning and behavioral disabilities and was sent to a group home from which he subsequently ran away. A few years ago, I went back to visit the family. Cathy had dropped out of school when she was 14 and never finished fifth grade. She is now an obese 25-year-old who spends all day watching television. No one talks about King or where he could be, or whether he is still alive.

I feel angry every time I think about the lives of these children, lives they never had a chance to live. I feel pain when I think about their parents. I dare not think how many other families out there lived through similar experiences, how many eventually made it, and how many have given up.

We do not hear these stories too often. We do not find too many chances to tell them. Mrs. Chin raised her son, Vincent, alone after her husband died. The night before he was to be married, Vincent, an engineer, was beaten to death by two unemployed white auto workers who sought to blame him for the closing of the Detroit auto plants. In the last words to Vincent before he died one of the men, Richard Ebens, said: "You Japs are the reason we lost our jobs."

More than four years later neither Ebens or Michael Nitz has spent a single day in jail for the brutal killing of Vincent Chin. In May, 1987, a federal appeals court in Michigan overturned the conviction of the two men and acquitted them of all charges.

Is this justice in America in 1987? Or is it more the America of 1882, when the Chinese Exclusion Act and other acts of legalized racism were accepted as laws of this nation?

Our immigrants come with hope. They come with a strong motivation to succeed. What they are not prepared for is the context of the new land they are to call home. They have no sense of the larger picture they will find themselves in, and reality can be as shocking as the new culture itself.

It is this social context that we must give to our new immigrants, and to help give meaning to the seemingly incoherent things they see around them. We have to give them a sense of history, for them to respect and appreciate what other immigrants have done, the struggles they have led for a better future, the hard won fruits of success. In the same context, we must confront our social problems head on, and not for a moment give our latest priorities an illusion or a promise of paradise that we cannot deliver. They have to see, just as we do, that when our country's priorities are placed on weapons and military strength, when whole industries are allowed to die and stand idle while husbands remain unemployed, when we don't retool and rebuild our own productive capacity and instead blame third-world countries for our woes, when we allow drugs, crime, homelessness, teenage pregnancy, school dropouts, infant mortality and dilapidated housing to plague our inner city neighborhoods, then we, as educators, organizers, and social workers, whether immigrant or native born, will have to re-define our personal orientation, search for our mission, and ask how we will seek to realize our own dreams while helping the newest among us realize theirs.

As all of us recover from a bit of nostalgia during the Statue of Liberty's bicentennial celebration, let us remind ourselves of the poverty and suffering that many of our people continue to face today. And let us keep in sight the progress that still needs to be made, in order to realize our dreams.

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Haitian Immigrants in the U.S.: Migration and Identity

Ever since Haiti became an independent nation in 1804, it has been a nation which has had significant periods of both immigration and "out-migration." In its infancy, especially between the years 1804 to 1898, Haiti was an immigrant receiving nation. It was only during the later years of the 19th century that Haitian out-migration began. Modern Haitian migration encompasses four major significant periods.

FIRST PERIOD

Between 1957 and 1964, the majority of Haitian immigrants who came to the U.S. were from the political and economic elites. Some were former members of the mulatto class who had traditionally enjoyed the trappings of power and wealth in Haiti. Others were members of the newly emerging Black bourgeoisie who had climbed the social ladder through education and whose vehicle was the rhetoric of Negritude. Both groups tried to avoid identification with the indigenous (American) Black population. The attitude of the Haitians was more akin to the position of the Blacks as an underclass in American society, rather than one of racism.

Since their flight was mostly fostered by political reasons, these immigrants thought their stay in the U.S. to be temporary. Their orientation was towards an eventual dethroning of the Duvalier regime and a subsequent replacement of that regime with their own political machine. Adaptation to American society was not a primary concern.

Having lost their social standing in the U.S., because they could not practice their professions in America, the Black Haitian immigrants' economic situation became very precarious. As for the mulatto group, they had also lost their traditional social standing by migrating and being relegated to the ranks of the Blacks, which they perceived to be derogatory and degrading. In the U.S., they were treated as "colored," the ultimate form of degradation in their viewpoint.

To escape that situation, both groups set out to "inform" American society of their "French" heritage and civilization. Yet the Haitian migrants failed to unite against the apparent hostile and uncaring attitude they had perceived in the host nation because the same racial antagonisms they had known and practiced in Haiti continued to polarize them in the U.S.

The label "Frenchie," pegged on them as a result of their insistence on representing themselves as being "different" from the general underclass, was not sufficient to warrant a positive identity. In the eyes of American society, they were still considered as colored. As a result, they redoubled their efforts to unseat the Duvalier regime, their only chance to regain their past position of dominance. Skin color, an important marker of superiority in Haiti, was no longer relevant in America since the demarcating lines are clear cut and rigid in this society.

That first immigrant group drifted away and disappeared into the fold of American society when their efforts to unseat the regime turned out to be fruitless. Washington, having come to the conclusion that a Fascist Duvalier was preferable to a communist regime in Haiti, made its peace with the Haitian dictator and withdrew its support for the exile groups. The majority of the elements of that class shunned Haitian identity in the U.S. Some tried to pass as Hispanics, some as Whites and others as West Indians. Most of them, having the wherewithal of adaptation, have been absorbed into the fold of American society without any sense of true ethnic identification. Their exclusive social clubs, bent on differentiating the immigrant population through color or intellectual achievements, were dismantled. Of that first group, little is known today.

THE SECOND PERIOD

Between 1965 and 1972, a new group of Haitian immigrants began to arrive in the United States. Discouraged with the political situation at home and its concomitant economic decline, and encouraged by the political and economic windfalls that had followed the wave of protests by the Civil Rights movement in the United States, Haitians migrated in greater and greater numbers. Spurred by the wave of terror unleashed by the Duvalier government, a more liberal revision of the U.S. immigration laws, and the persistent efforts of recruiting agents sent to Haiti by American firms robbed of their labor force by the Vietnam war, the number of immigrants leaving Haiti reached alarming proportions. Their entry into the U.S. coincided with the ethnic revival that was permeating American society (Glick-Schiller, 1972). American institutions such as the Democratic Party and the Catholic Church, benevolent organizations such as the Ford Foundation and the federal government proceeded to educate the Haitian immigrants on the necessity to organize along ethnic lines. As a consequence, the mostly Black Haitian immigrants who had followed on the coat-tails of the first immigrant group began to articulate the needs of the Haitians along ethnic considerations. As a result, Haitians began to embrace and internalize the notion of ethnic pluralism as understood by American society. Because Haitians were linguistically and culturally different from American Blacks, and since they showed a clear dislike for the narrow ethnic constraints imposed upon them by American society, and since they also exhibited an exalted sense of national pride, they were seen as perfect candidates for a "new ethnic group" status.

THE THIRD PERIOD (1972-1982)

But, soon enough, the efforts to organize Haitians as an ethnic group began to lessen, even though the Haitian migrant population grew substantially. This retrenchment was directly connected with the phasing out of the federally funded programs and the dismantlement of the structures set in motion during the era of the Civil Rights movement. In the wake of the mild recession that had affected American society in the mid-70s, the resources made available by the federal government along the guidelines of "pluralism" were severely curtailed. Moreover, the Haitian immigrants who, up to now, had voluntarily segregated themselves from the American Blacks had to come to terms with the efforts of the native Blacks to speak on behalf of all Blacks, regardless of national origin. A separate identity was no longer a viable alternative for the Haitians.

Concurrent with the depletion of resources made available for the Haitian immigrants to organize along ethnic lines, the Haitians were being polarized internally by the language issue (Stafford, 1987). In effect, while the old immigrants continued to promote French (spoken by less than five percent of the immigrant population) as the language of the immigrants, the young and more dynamic immigrants rejected French and embraced Creole as the true language of all Haitians. Yet amidst this controversy and the situation of marked decrease in resources, immigrants continued, nevertheless, to arrive in the United States in greater and greater numbers. Most of them were of low socio-economic status, of peasant ancestry and the greater portion were illiterate (Fouron, 1984). This debacle was caused by the smooth transition of power from Francois Duvalier to his son Jean-Claude in 1971. Although the latter promised an economic revolution and wielded power less brutally than his father had, political freedom was short-lived and repression remained pervasive. Moreover, throughout the 1970s, an influx of American capital in Haiti revitalized the economic life of the capital but failed to stimulate the entire nation. Those workers who could not be absorbed in the local economic boomlet but who had left the rural areas had but one alternative: to leave Haiti. Since most of them were unable to secure legal visas, illegal means were used to escape their desperate situation, hence the "boat people" phenomenon.

During the same period, the worsening of the American economic situation fueled anti-immigrant attitudes in the U.S. Immigrants were portrayed as competitors for the jobs of American citizens and immigrant workers were offered to native workers as scapegoats to alleviate their frustration. The American media presented the Haitian immigrants as ragged, impoverished, illiterate and pitiful individuals, unneeded and unwanted in America. Haitians and American organizations concerned with the plight of the immigrants complained in vain.

The treatment the Haitians received upon their arrival in the U.S. depicted their desirability in the United States (Portes & Stepick, 1985). While during the same period 125,000 Cubans were warmly received in Florida, the Haitians were incarcerated in substandard conditions that were so repulsive and inhuman that a federal judge demanded their immediate release. Moreover, the Immigration and Naturalization Services (I.N.S.) made great efforts to isolate these immigrants from their families or social advocates who were willing to assist them. To that effect, Haitian immigrants were interned in camps as remotely located as Watertown in upstate New York, and in Texas, and plans were in the making to transfer them to North and South Dakota. In the end, these negative attitudes of the larger American society towards the immigrants had the coalescing effect of instilling in them a sense of togetherness and brought them closer to the American social advocates who wanted to assist them. But in the early years of the 1980s, that effort towards unity suffered a setback. The Center for Disease Control (C.D.C.), the official health watchdog of the U.S. government, listed Haitians as a group at risk and carriers of the AIDS virus, the only national group to receive such dubious distinction in the U.S.

THE FOURTH PERIOD (1982-1986)

The designation of the Haitians as a group at risk for AIDS had a chilling effect on the immigrants' efforts to present themselves as a separate ethnic group distinct from the larger Black population. The C.D.C. categorization negatively impacted upon them and singled them out as a group to avoid at all cost. The reaction of the larger community was swift and merciless. Some Haitians lost their jobs, others were ostracized from the community in which they resided; a few were physically attacked and harmed by elements of the larger population. The presence of the Haitians in the traditional working communities of the inner cities was viewed with suspicion, creating an alarming situation that bordered on panic. To protect themselves against such assault on their identity, Haitians began to pull away from open identification with anything Haitian. At the same time, the Haitian government redoubled its efforts to crush the emerging opposition movement that had burgeoned during the Carter administration and by that action eliminated the only viable alternative open to the Haitians, a reverse migration movement. Moreover, the U.S. Coast Guard was given the right to patrol Haitian waters, seemingly to prevent illegal migration out of Haiti, but it appears evident that the Coast Guard was also entrusted with a secret agenda: preventing a return migration movement that would do away with the Duvalier dictatorship.

Finally, on February 7, 1986 Duvalier fled from Haiti. Haitian immigrants rejoiced in the streets of Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan and voiced their intention to return home to finally regain their dignity. Yet they were soon made aware of the fact that their years in exile had profoundly affected them. Upon visiting Haiti, they soon realized that the dream of a reverse migration was just that: a dream. Haiti could not offer them the trappings of the life they had known in the U.S., however precarious that life was. Besides that, although Duvalier had left, Duvalierism did not leave with him. Moreover, the immigrants did not have the necessary resources to uproot themselves. In most cases, they lacked the educational credentials that would have assured them an improvement in their socioeconomic conditions. Moreover, they had failed to accumulate enough financial resources to provide them with a viable economic base upon their return to Haiti.

Haitian immigrants in the U. S. came to the realization that their future, however bleak it may be, resides in the U.S. Haitians both in and outside of Haiti see the colonies living abroad as being permanently settled there, yet both groups see the possibilities of using the resources of the immigrants to foster change in Haiti. The term "diaspora," which they have come to use, while carrying the implications of the Jewish experience has transcended such experience. Haitians living abroad are routinely designated as the "diaspora," but a diaspora which does not prioritize a return to their homeland. The Haitian diaspora is neither totally immersed in American society (not wanting to be Black twice), nor does it consider any longer its future to be in the return movement home. The goal of the Haitian immigrants is to enjoy the best of both societies. Living in the U.S., they can acquire wealth and education which can later be invested in building Haiti. Haitian immigrants living in the U.S. are Transnationalist. Total allegiance is given to neither social context (Fouron, 1985; Sutton, 1987; Glick-Schiller et al., 1987).

This attitude of the Haitian immigrants stems from Haitians' consideration of themselves as both an emerging ethnic group in the United States and a racial group with specific needs. Haitians also use their racial and ethnic identities to solicit help from diverse groups, including labor unions, the Congressional Black Caucus, Caribbean immigrant groups and the native Black population. At times they see themselves as a segment of the indigenous Black population, at other times as an invisible immigrant ethnic group, still at times as exploited Third World people, yet every time as Haitians.

The painful experience of exile, on the one hand, and being seen as a constituent of an exploited minority living under the aegis of a White-dominated society, on the other, has had a profoundly deleterious effect upon Haitian identity in the U. S. The efforts exerted by the host society to re-stratify and relegate the Haitian immigrants to the ranks of the underclass with the lowest status in America have contributed to the conflict over their social identity. Moreover, events in Haiti have also come to influence the realities of the immigrants in the host society, thus pulling them in opposite and contrasting directions. That duality in their social identity is not rendered easy by the position of the leaders of the "diaspora." Their leadership remains fragmented. These deeply rooted divisions hamper the emergence of a unifying force that could bring their concerns to the fore. Different groups espouse different ideologies and seek to establish different status and identities for the Haitian immigrant population, thus inhibiting any unity that could, in the long run, effectively address their problems in the U. S. Transnationalism and the adaptation of a transnational identity represent attempts of the immigrants to come to terms with a painful and frustrating reality in the United States.

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Northern Horizons: Latinas in the New Immigration

When 17-year-old Elizabeth Almonte agonized through her first English language presentation at La Guardia Community College, she was repeating rites of passage experienced by countless Latina migrants and immigrants who came to the U.S. before her.

> ...we are studying here because I don't know how to speak English. And...we are...we come to try. For the future. And we have to study everyday...we have to make a sacrifice for we don't speak Spanish in our home, in the street, at school and don't watch T.V. in Spanish. (*Newsday*, 1987)

The Almonte family, father, mother and three children, immigrated four years ago from a small farming village in the Dominican Republic. Newcomers to the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, the Almontes joined more than 17 million legal Hispanics in the U.S., and an estimated 3 million undocumented aliens; a population which is expected to outnumber black Americans within a generation (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1985).

The very term "Hispanics" is problematic. As a label, it combines colonized natives and their offspring, foreigners and political refugees under one ethnic umbrella. The coherence of this label is questionable on theoretical or historical grounds, caution sociologists who write about ethnicity. For each Latino/Hispano group in the United States, migration experiences must be regarded within an historical framework, reception factors in the new society and the process of the migration itself (Nelson and Tiende, 1985).

Following the Second World War and prior to the enactment of the immigration reforms of 1965, which abolished the national origins system, the largest Spanish-speaking groups to enter the U.S. came from Mexico, the Hispanic Caribbean and Colombia. Instigated primarily by economic instability, political unrest and turmoil, many migrants and immigrants settled in New York City, where

Puerto Rican enclaves, some dating to the turn of the century, offered cultural familiarity and protection (Korrol, 1983). The largest Colombian community was established in Queens. Dominicans settled primarily in upper Manhattan. While population estimates for that period were moderate, these settlements formed the nucleus for post-1960 immigration. As they secured housing and employment, close ties and communication with the homeland encouraged increased immigration and institutionalized a circular migratory pattern.

In spite of the growth of cities like Los Angeles and Miami as entry ports for Latin immigration, traditional sites such as San Antonio, Santa Fe, Chicago and New York continued to receive a sizable share of newcomers after 1965. The decade of the seventies, for example, witnessed an increase of some 70,000 to the New York Puerto Rican population, but increases ranging from 44% to 26% occurred in other cities as well (CALC Report, 1984). Cubans settled predominantly in Florida, but a substantial spillover became evident in New Jersey and New York. The major demographic shift appeared to be the inclusion of immigration from Central and South America. Although the largest source of Latin immigration continued to come from the Hispanic Caribbean, Central and South Americans, particularly from Colombia, radically augmented the city's Spanish-speaking population. According to the 1980 census, the city's Hispanic population peaked at 1.4 million, including 462,000 who were neither Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban. These figures, however, did not take into account illegals and refugees, whose numbers are estimated to be anywhere from 400,000 to 750,000 (Reimers, 1986, p. 12).

By 1976 Congress imposed stricter immigration laws relegating Western Hemisphere nations to the same restrictions in effect for the Eastern Hemisphere. This, along with the abolishment of the bracero program, a plan designed to provide seasonal labor for southwestern farmers, indirectly instigated the increase in illegal immigration. With regard to this group, immigration historian David Reimers (p. 12) observes:

> Perhaps those with the worst experience were the illegals, many of whom were escaping Central American poverty and violent turmoil...many Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Nicaraguans considered themselves as refugees, but the federal government admitted few of them as refugees. For

> example, in 1983 and 1984 INS gave asylum to only 1,112 Nicaraguans and 375 Salvadorans...

Undoubtedly, any discussion of the plight of the undocumented must take into account the special problems faced by women. In *Perfiles* (1985), Estela Ramirez, currently residing in Sanctuary in Boston, recalling her experience as a refugee, remarks:

> For me, it's very hard to be in a strange country. In my own country, I had my own children and the rest of my family. Here I am very much alone. Here there are many Central Americans, many Salvadorans and Guatemalans...they are refugees and have urgent needs. They have had to come into exile because they are persecuted at home. Here they must go around in hiding out of fear that someone will ask them for their papers. For example, if they are renting an apartment that is really run down or has no heat, they can't say anything to the landlord because the landlord could turn them in to the migra. We're always afraid of being deported, especially if we were arrested or persecuted before. We run the risk of being arrested or assassinated or "disappeared" upon returning to El Salvador.

Given the statistical and demographic profile of a population whose complexities we cannot begin to fathom within the scope of this paper, how do we begin to understand the new immigrant woman? If, as one immigration scholar suggests, new immigration seeks old roots and tends to blend into the old, and the future will resemble the past more than be a departure, we must first separate the faces from the crowds and focus on those issues pivotal to the lives of all new immigrants and old migrants. Certainly, the dismantling of traditional family ties and the restructuring of new ones in a changing environment is a universal experience that affects everyone, but critically impacts on women as wives or heads of households. With thirty to sixty percent of all households headed by women operating below the poverty level, employment, the work experience and access to opportunity emerge as urgent and vital issues (Census Profile, 1984).

In the case of Puerto Rican migrants at mid-century, many women continued to subscribe to their traditional role as homemakers in spite of their rapid incorporation into the job market. The migration process, however, altered their place within the family.

Faced with the economic realities of the period, and the fact that it was frequently easier for women than men to secure employment, Puertorriqueñas left the home for the factories in record numbers. Some, inspired by their new situation, rebelled against the island patterns of male dominance. Ortiz (1983) cites a migrant who summarized this attitude when she said,

> Whether I have a husband or not I work. So I do what I want, and if my husband dare complain, I throw him out. That is the difference, in Puerto Rico I would have to stand for anything a man asks me to do because he pays the rent. Here I belong to myself.

While this particular response may have been extreme, others reveal a variety of accommodations to the shifts in male/female and familial roles. Some took in boarders or cared for the children of working mothers. Others did piecework in the home. Most combined demeaning jobs with the equally demanding role of traditional homemaker. Without exception, all paid a price in their efforts to combine traditional values and experience with the new reality.

For the Almontes and thousands of Latinos like them, the process of migration with its familial disruptions and renewals, alienation and accommodations was emotionally debilitating. It coincided with serious unemployment, scarcity of housing and a rising cost of living in New York City. Subjected to a marginalized labor market, many Latinos are frequently employed in industries with seasonal fluctuations, often in declining manufacturing sectors. Prepared to sell their unskilled or semi-skilled labor for survival, they are confronted instead by demands for highly skilled and sophisticated workers in a financial market.

In addition, they find themselves assaulted on a daily basis by an aggressive and intrusive mainland culture. For some, contact with their country of origin, motivated and facilitated by inexpensive commercial air travel, often serves as a buffer. Many subscribe to a sojourner mentality, courageously maintaining their cultural values, submitting remittances to those who stayed behind, saving more money for their own return, and welcoming newcomers into their midst. Others adhere to a growing continental Latino cultural expression that is beginning to both incorporate and transcend national origins. This phenomenon tends to foster a native/Latino cultural experience in place of the hyphenated ethnic-American duality of previous immigrants (Barkan, 1986, p. 30). The comings and goings, *va y viene*, so characteristic of the earlier Puerto Rican experience, serves to intensify the differences between the new Latinos and dominant U.S. society, while at the same time integrating them into older, better entrenched Spanish-speaking groups.

Despite the fact that Puerto Ricans are not technically included in discussions of new Latino immigration, their unique position within the North American orbit cannot be ignored. The second major Spanish origin group after Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, comprise a larger proportion of the total population than Cubans, Central or South Americans.* Contrary to popular theories about assimilation, the Puerto Rican situation has worsened over the decades, in spite of impressive gains made by the second and third generations. Throughout the decade of the eighties, census data indicate that unemployment was substantially higher for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics, and the rate for Puerto Ricans remained the highest among the Spanish origin groups. In 1984, the median income of Hispanic families was $18,800 per year compared with $27,000 per year for non-Hispanic families. By contrast, Puerto Rican families averaged incomes of $12,499 compared to $22,600 for Cuban families.

The plight of Roselia Almonte, so reminiscent of the Puerto Rican experience, is also characteristic of recently arrived Dominicans. Within the past year, she held several jobs in neighborhood factories, which paid minimum wages for complicated piecework. Under federal guidelines, she should have earned $134 for a forty-hour week. Instead, her first week on the job netted $76 in cash. Frustrated at the workplace and concerned that she is failing her family, Roselia is also fearful of leaving the security of her neighborhood to search for better opportunities.

In addition, life in the U.S. has brought about an unanticipated alienation within Roselia's family. Husband, son and daughters, each burdened with individual obligations, appear content to travel in his or her own direction. Roselia's work experience in the factories is as unfamiliar to her children as their schooling and academic needs are to her.

Chicana poet Pat Mora (p. 61) poignantly describes this type of family alienation in her poem *Elena*:

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*The U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Census adheres to the following population breakdown: 10.3 million persons of Mexican origin; 2.6 million persons of Puerto Rican origin; 1.0 million persons of Cuban origin; 1.7 million persons of Central or South American origin; 1.4 million persons of other Spanish origin. These figures do not take undocumented persons into account.

My Spanish isn't enough
I remember how I'd smile
listening to my little ones,
understanding every word they'd say,
their jokes, their songs, their plots.
Vamos a pedirle dulces a mama. Vamos.
But that was in Mexico.
Now my children go to American high schools.
They speak English. At night they sit around
the kitchen table, laugh with one another.
I stand by the stove and feel dumb, alone.
I bought a book to learn English.
My husband frowned, drank more beer.
My oldest said, "Mama, he doesn't want you
to be smarter than he is." I'm forty,
embarrassed at mispronouncing words,
embarrassed at the laughter of my children,
the grocer, the mailman. Sometimes I take
my English book and lock myself in the bathroom,
say the thick words softly,
for if I stop trying, I will be deaf
when my children need my help.

Yet, while life here is hard, for some it is often better than it was back home. Employment opportunities are often dramatic. Some 50% of immigrant women work, and even for those in the blue-collar sector, there is satisfaction in significantly increased incomes. Ana Cruz Vazquez, divorced mother of six, came to the U.S. in 1977. She worked in the garment industry, never making more than $130 a week, yet managed to educate four of her children.

> I lived on 150 pesos ($48) a month in Santo Domingo...This is Paradise. I am working. I am earning money. I am driving. I am buying things I want. My priority is for the children. (*Time*, p. 83)

Will many new immigrants follow the well-worn path of return migration? David Vidal's series on Latinos which appeared in *The New York Times* (pp. 11-14) indicates that 90% of the 566 persons he interviewed were "most reluctant to wean themselves from the past. Among the non-Puerto Ricans interviewed, none mentioned citizenship as a personal goal. However, the goal for some was " 'la residencia,' the right to permanent residence in this country..."

Elsa Chaney, who researches Colombian immigration, describes their neighborhoods in Queens as "more like a remote province of Colombia than an ethnic barrio of New York City because so many people dream of going home" (Barkan, 1986, p. 16). This aspect of the migration experience denotes a selective adaptation process and a limited involvement in U.S. institutional affairs.

Similarly, the Dominican immigrants fully expect that they will move back to the Republic, especially when they retire. One priest lamented he could not get them to contribute to the church because so many either send money back home "or are saving for their own return."

On the issue of return migration, there appears to be a difference between men and women migrants. While men yearn for the old country, where their status was simply based on their gender and where they were not expected to take part in housework or child care, women prefer to stay. Some point out that while the price is high, the rewards are well worth the efforts. Cuban businesswoman Maria Elena Torano Pantin maintains, "I became my own person. Not my parents' person, not my kids' person and not my husband's person. But mine." In this way, Maria Elena Torano Pantin is also following in the footsteps of countless Latinas who came before her (*Time*, 1985, p. 83).

Clearly, newcomers, new immigrants and old migrants are realizing the dream. But for many the dream is tarnished—an illusion that does not eradicate a harsh reality.

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Part III

Selected Conference Presentations

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The Teaching of Writing: Toward a Pedagogy of Questions

TEACHING AND SEARCHING FOR THE RIGHT ANSWER

It was Paulo Freire (Bruss & Macedo, 1985) who first introduced me to the notion of a "pedagogy of questions." In an eloquent and inspiring talk, actually it was more like a dialogue, he explained how education had come to concern itself almost exclusively with a "pedagogy of answers" no matter what the area of teaching, no matter what the grade level. He spoke of "keep[ing] lots of answers in our suitcases," "forget[ting] the fundamental questions that stimulated the answers," and dispensing these answers to our students without bothering to address the questions that our students might have and without stimulating in them the spirit of inquiry (p. 9).

A growing body of research on and observation of classroom interaction has certainly corroborated the fact that instruction is dominated by a pedagogy whose goal is the "right answer," the correct and anticipated response, a predetermined set of competencies or objectives, fixed and uniform standards. It is not surprising, given this goal, that teachers tend to control classroom talk and instruction by asking questions, and that this pattern of discourse can be found in classrooms all over the world (see, for example, Holmes, 1978). Bellack et al. (1966) have called this pattern the "language of the classroom" and have identified the universal roles that teachers take on as solicitors and students take on as respondents. Furthermore, this classroom game discourages attempts to shift these roles, so that students rarely raise questions of their teachers and certainly do not do so amongst themselves. This is all the more striking when one considers the fact that children typically begin school animated with questions (Boomer, 1987, 10).

Typically, the kinds of questions asked are "test" questions whose focus it is to assess rather than to instruct (see for example Cazden's survey of classroom research, 1986). As Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979) have pointed out, teachers don't ask questions because they want to know the answer, because they are seeking unknown information, but rather because they want to know whether students know the answer. Studies of classroom discourse reveal that "open" questions, to which there are alternative responses, rarely occur, while "closed" questions, to which there is only one acceptable response, is the predominant mode of questioning (Barnes, Britton and Rosen, 1969); that questions rarely require inferential reasoning or the generation of hypotheses (Mills, Rice, Berliner and Rousseau, 1980); and that questions seem to lead to dead ends, rather than build upon one another in order to arrive at a more complex understanding of an issue (Goodlad, 1984).

In second language classrooms, too, instruction has been found to be marked by such a pedagogy. Long and Sato's (1983) investigation of the forms and functions of teachers' questions in ESL classrooms indicate a preponderance of "display," "test" or "known information" questions which focus on form and accuracy rather than communicative language use. Questions like "Are you a student?" seem to predominate, while referential questions, which seek genuine information and which are found in real-world exchanges, are rarely posed. That this is found to be the case for both experienced and inexperienced ESL teachers (Pica and Long, 1986) seems to point to the inevitability of this form of instruction.

These studies, focusing as they do on the questioning behavior of teachers, reveal a "pedagogy of answers" as it is reproduced quite literally in the classroom. However, a "pedagogy of answers" obviously describes far more than who asks what kinds of questions. It is a metaphor for the assumptions underlying all aspects of teaching and learning. For Freire, such a model of instruction assumes that teachers and students play unequal roles, and that power and control are maintained by teachers. It perpetuates the notion that teachers are the knowers, and by virtue of this status, transmit information which students are subsequently obliged to display. It implies that learning flows in one direction, from teacher to student.

A "PEDAGOGY OF ANSWERS" IN THE WRITING CLASSROOM

And it is such a pedagogy that still predominates in writing classrooms, this despite what we have learned from recent research on composition. As has been pointed out by a number of researchers, the universal structure for student-teacher interactions has carried over into the teaching of writing (Dunn, Florio-Ruane and

Clark, 1985, p. 47). Writing continues to be taught according to principles, guidelines and rules that are imposed from without. It is assumed that following a prescribed and formulaic sequence of routines assigned in lock-step fashion, one skill at a time, and practicing certain kinds of writing, usually artificial and narrowly prescribed, will lead to writing competence. Models are provided, criteria for evaluation are established, and standards of performance are adopted school-wide, system-wide, nation-wide and even worldwide, as in the case of the TOEFL writing placement. A "pedagogy of answers" certainly seems pervasive, both in terms of teaching approach and the kinds of written products students are expected to produce. In fact, an interesting parallel can be drawn between second language teaching and writing instruction; just as second language classrooms are marked by practice with predetermined language skills that is at odds with the way meaning is negotiated and information exchanged in the real world, so writing classrooms seem to operate according to the demands and goals of institutionalized curricula that fail to take into account the fluid, recursive, open-ended nature of real-world writing processes.

Recent studies of writing classrooms, investigations of teachers' responses to student writing, and surveys of composition textbooks all reveal the ways in which a "pedagogy of answers" manifests itself. For example, Applebee's (1984) investigation of how writing is taught in schools describes in depth the mechanistic nature of instruction and the kinds of writing students are expected to produce. Writing is used, by and large, to test, and the role the teacher plays is that of examiner. Most writing tasks are highly structured, limited, and narrow, of the fill-in-the-blank variety, and are sequenced according to a bottom-up approach. Even longer assignments are rigid and formulaic, with directives about the final form the writing is to take. Thus, students report with great specificity the form their writing is to reproduce: "The shape of the product—even to the precise number of sentences per paragraph and paragraphs per essay—has been made clear to them" (p. 105). Given the emphasis on convention and predetermined expectations, students' own purposes for writing are rarely addressed and are "taken over" by school purposes. Even in the case of two classrooms in which the teachers were determined to use writing as a means for exploration and learning, the larger school purposes for writing and students' learned concerns for the evaluated final product undermine these teachers' attempts. Applebee's concluding remarks suggest that these findings have less to do with actual teaching practices than with roles adopted by teacher and student, roles that put the teacher in the position of authority. It is because teachers' purposes and their concerns with formal constraints take precedence over students' intentions that "meaning is preempted by the teacher rather than more naturally negotiated" (p. 171). As a result, what students know and what they are trying to say through their writing are co-opted by their teachers' focus on the right kind of product.

Recently, I undertook an investigation that consisted of a case study of three ESL student writers. What I wanted to explore was these students' experiences in different instructional contexts, and the ways in which these experiences affected their reflections about and attitudes toward writing. Thus, in addition to meeting with and interviewing these students over a period of three semesters, I carried out observations of their classrooms and interviewed their teachers and, in the case of two classrooms, their tutors. What this longitudinal study revealed, again, was the extent to which teachers define and control writing, reinforcing the notion that texts must conform to abstract and predetermined sets of standards.

The three students that became the focus of my study were all enrolled in the same pre-composition course at the time that I met them and were chosen because each represented a different level of writing ability. I will return to Carlos' and Nham's experiences in this pre-composition course, which were not typical of their experiences in their other writing courses, later. And while what happened to each of these students represents a unique story, full of its own complexities and complications, there were common threads that revealed themselves over time. Let me share with you some telling vignettes.

Carlos, who was judged by his pre-composition instructor to be the best writer of the three, entered his freshman composition course full of enthusiasm and eager to continue using writing as a means for exploring and communicating his ideas. However, he encountered considerable frustration as the semester progressed because his own intentions were repeatedly undercut by the goals set by the teacher.

The classroom sessions that I observed focused on abstract discussions that defined, in essence, what was appropriate and what was not. During one particular class, the discussion focused on a student paper and the extent to which this text met a set of criteria outlined on the blackboard. The discussion was dominated by the questions raised by the teacher, questions to which there were very definite answers, and to which only a few students responded. This is not surprising given the abstract nature of these questions, which focused on whether or not this text would meet the criteria for a "controversial paper" and which were phrased as if the standards for such a paper were fixed and absolute. I point to this incident in particular because it demonstrates that instruction that is marked by a concern for predetermined kinds of knowledge, in this case, rhetorical knowledge which the teacher transmits to the students, transcends a particular technique or method that would otherwise appear to be innovative, for example, sharing and responding to a student's text.

My interview with the teacher further corroborated that his intention was that students produce certain kinds of narrowly prescribed texts. He discussed the importance of producing papers that followed the rhetorical formats described and modeled in the composition textbook because students "would need these to function in all of their courses." The following is a particularly telling statement:

> I have a kind of general uneasiness about controlling [students'] intellectual lives, but I've become less uneasy with that, and I do know more than they do, and that really part of the traditional expectation is that students get direction from their teachers. And, in time, I'm beginning to see that a textbook knows at least as much as I do, and I can get some direction on what to emphasize for any rhetorical component such as comparison/contrast or argument or process analysis.

With reference to topics, he talked about "tightening the reins." He explained that he "determined the format but [students] would fill in whatever they wanted." And when asked about Carlos in particular, he indicated that "he'll get through in a kind of mediocre way. He's not what I would call an intellectual, which is the stuff of a college...It's interesting that I know very little about him or about any of my students." These last remarks, that he knows very little about Carlos, but that he does not consider him an "intellectual," point to the very essence of the problem. In fact, if he had attempted to understand Carlos' own motives and goals, he would have undoubtedly discovered that Carlos wrote quite a few pieces on his own which he showed me but which he never felt comfortable sharing with his teacher.

My interviews with Carlos revealed the causes for much of the frustration that he was experiencing. He narrated an incident that had occurred early in the semester that had made a deep impression on him. It seems that his friend had worked on a paper that the teacher refused to accept because it did not have the requisite five paragraphs. Since Carlos had never equated the quality of writing with the number of paragraphs it contained, this event had caused him confusion, as did other aspects of the course. For example, he couldn't understand why they didn't write more. Note the following comment:

> This is a writing class. We're supposed to write a lot. Why don't we write in class? We learn things like finding a thesis, answering questions for a paper, but why don't we do writing? If we practice, we're going to master it. When I write, I just follow steps, but we need to practice.

He also experienced considerable tension because he was interested in writing about a particular topic for the assigned research paper and had collected a good deal of data over a period of several weeks. But he was troubled because he wasn't sure whether this topic would fit the teacher's requirements for a "controversial paper." As a result, the night before the paper was due, Carlos wrote an entirely different paper, one that he knew would meet these requirements, but one that he had no involvement or interest in whatsoever. Finally, when I referred to the class that I had observed in which the student's paper was discussed and asked Carlos why he hadn't participated, he responded with the following:

> I can tell you this. We don't feel very comfortable. I don't feel like participating. I know the answers, I know what he wants, but I don't feel like participating. I don't feel like. Sometimes if we answer, if we are wrong, his position as a teacher makes you feel like you don't know anything and you get afraid.

Nham was one of the other students who participated in my study, the least skilled writer of the three. Like Carlos, he had made good progress in his pre-composition course and looked forward to further opportunities to write, but his experiences in his freshman composition course served to discourage him, rob him of his confidence, and preclude his development.

What is particularly interesting about the composition class that Nham attended is that the teacher wanted to promote engaged and meaningful writing, but in the final analysis was incapable of reconciling her professed philosophy with her need to have students fulfill the goals of her less explicit agenda. Thus, while classroom sessions were given over to small groups that commented on excerpts of student writing, it became obvious that students had little sense of the purposefulness of this activity. They seemed to understand that these sessions, in fact, had little to do with the ways in which writing was evaluated by the teacher. As the tutor for the course put it, "the group work wasn't effective because the final message came from the teacher." So, here again, a technique had been employed that was subverted by the traditional realities and expectations of the course.

During my interview with the teacher, she discussed her process orientation and her commitment to focusing on meaning rather than "doing grammar" or practicing rhetorical forms. She described the thematically-organized readings, the sequences of activities that led to final drafts, the peer review. She indicated that her goal was "to get [students] to the point that they're writing because they have something to say. At the end, I wanted them to feel that writing was not painful, that it was something they would enjoy." However, classroom instruction that focused on finding thesis sentences, the correct way to formulate introductions and conclusions, her responses to student writing, and the uniform structure students were expected to reproduce in their papers revealed her real priorities.

For example, for one assignment students were asked to read and write about a set of readings. They were also given an excerpt from an ESL composition textbook outlining the format for a comparison/contrast paper. Despite the fact that the teacher did not explicitly specify that this was the format she expected them to follow, this is indeed what she was looking for. Thus, when students' own intentions led to interpretations that did not conform to the pre-existing framework, they experienced confusion and conflict. In the case of Nham, whose paper revealed a sophisticated analysis of the readings and an original treatment of the themes but failed to meet the teacher's expectations, this problematic situation led to feelings of self-doubt.

My interviews with Nham demonstrate the impact that the teacher's agenda had on his sense of himself, not only as a writer, but as a learner. By mid-semester, he began to reveal his anxiety and talked about having "tried so hard, but it never comes out right." He called himself a "stupid person who can't do anything the way she wants it. Since class started, I have not learned improvement...Next paper will be wrong, I'm sure." He consistently voiced his concern about getting things right:

> I get satisfaction because I'm thinking and getting my ideas out. But I'm worried because I don't think it's what the teacher wants. And when I worry, I cannot put more ideas out...Before, I just write down my ideas. Now, I worry about thesis, introduction and conclusion before I write my ideas.

He spoke of students' unwillingness to participate in class:

> I would assume that teacher is too tight. The ideas must be... She doesn't expect students have different ideas. It's not open for students to give ideas. I assume she wants students to have ideas she wants. That's why students have a hard time. For me, since I start this class, I keep my mouth shut.

By the end of the semester, he summed up his thoughts in the following way:

> I feel really inadequate. The way she teaches, it has to be correct. She's so tight, strict. That's why I'm not prepared for it. For student who is not concerned about introduction, thesis sentence or conclusion, that makes them confused. How to find these things before they have ideas. I know I still have trouble. If I know the thesis statement, my paper could be O.K....If a teacher is tight and won't let go, student is afraid to put his ideas. I have more ideas even, but I know it's wrong. The more information I put into paper, the more wrong. So I leave things out cause I'm afraid I'm very confused. When a teacher is so tight, you lose everything.

Nham's sense of failure and his conclusion that he has consistently been unable to write correctly have left him feeling disillusioned and defeated.

The two composition classes that Carlos and Nham attended were quite different from one another. The teachers' stated philosophies, the design of the curriculum, the ways in which readings were used, the topics students wrote about, these features certainly differentiated the two instructional contexts, but these were surface features. At a deeper level, what both students (and I think it is important to keep in mind that they represented a wide range of language and writing ability) experienced was a "pedagogy of answers," an instructional model whose goal it was to promote and sanction a particular kind of discourse. As a result, when students' attempts to generate their own meanings led to less standard texts, their unique interpretations were neither acknowledged nor validated. Both teachers, no doubt out of genuine concern for their students' academic success, had subscribed to the notion that they know the kinds of writing students need to practice and master, and that it is their job to transmit this information to them.

This notion, which had gained popularity as a result of earlier work in contrastive rhetoric, has reappeared as a theme in some recent articles about teaching ESL writing. For example, Horowitz (1986b), after conducting a survey of the kinds of writing tasks required for academic purposes, attempted to establish what is expected of students in university coursework. However, his recommendations are based on the responses of only 36 of the 750 faculty contacted! Are we to conclude that his findings are representative? Furthermore, even if he had more responses from faculty, is it a given that we base our instruction on the kinds of writing assignments they design? My own collection of papers that ESL students have written for their content-area courses, and the assignments upon which they are based, points to the problematic nature of these assignments and suggests that we not view them as models to emulate.

More importantly, to what extent can collections of data of this sort prove of value to us if they fail to give us insight into the discourse communities which these assignments represent? Horowitz assumes that there are shortcuts to learning how to write academic papers, that we and our students need to simulate the experience of responding to a typical college assignment. But because this approach presents academic discourse as if it were a "unified body of literacy conventions and procedures to be mastered" (Coles and

Wall 1987, p. 313), it bypasses opportunities our students need to explore why we read and write in the first place, why members of a community gather together to produce discourse for one another. It thus "condemns students and their teachers to do the work of writing...in isolation from the very conditions that justify writing and learning to write" (Brodkey, 1987, p. 414). It is perhaps because Horowitz does not take these fuller contexts into account that his understanding of what is required to participate in the discourse of the university is so underconceptualized and stands in sharp contrast to what composition theorists have revealed about the nature of academic writing. What these theorists have given us to understand is that the standards of discourse communities have far more to do with a rich appreciation for and complex engagement with the issues of concern to a discipline than with the ability to formulate certain kinds of texts (Rose 1985). In the end, Horowitz's perspective is best summed up by the following statement:

> Many of our students...have been highly conditioned by the demands of their native education systems to see the TEST or THE PAPER, or, most of all, the GRADE, as the be-all and end-all of the educational process. This may offend some teachers' humanistic sensibilities and may, according to certain Western psychological theories, prevent these students from reaching their full human potential, but who are we to try to change the value structure of our students? And again, are typical American students thirsty for knowledge? Are we? (1986a, p. 143)

If we or our students are not "thirsty for knowledge" (the metaphor Horowitz uses here tells us much about his assumptions about learning), it is because of the instruction that Horowitz recommends. The solution that he offers may be the very cause for what he views as the problem. And solutions such as his, based as they are on a deficit model of education, according to which students are defined by what they lack, exclude students from the critical and fundamental understanding of how writing is used to generate knowledge. This, in fact, seems to be the case for the very students who are most at risk. For example, in a study of the way schools test and track students, Oakes (1985) found that students in high-track classes had opportunities to express ideas, while low-track students learned how to spell words and fill out job forms. Hartwell (1984), too, found that students who were identified as "weak" writers receive instruction that reinforces a mechanical and impoverished understanding of writing. So the students who most need genuine writing experiences are kept from them. As Frank Smith (1983) points out, teachers "destroy the ability of any [students] to write" because writing is "fatally trivialized" and reduced to boring and punitive work whose purpose is the "shunting of information" (p. 132). This, Smith goes on, is what accounts for the many college students who are "reasonably good at writing if they are told what exactly to write, and when, and how much," but who are "most unconvincing in constructing their own point of view or in arguing for or against the views of others, because they have rarely had the experience of doing so" (p. 133). These students have been taught a counter-productive lesson about writing and have not been given opportunities for "making meaning for the self, ordering experience, establishing one's own relation to it" (Rose, 1983, p. 118). This, and not the skills typically taught in remedial classrooms, is what is basic in serious, academic writing (Rose, 1983; Coe, 1986).

A "PEDAGOGY OF QUESTIONS" IN THE WRITING CLASSROOM

If we want our students to learn a very different lesson, if the goals for our student writers, both skilled and unskilled, are that they think critically, write in order to explore, generate hypotheses, inquire, create meaning, then our teaching needs to be informed by a "pedagogy of questions." And it is just such a model of instruction that the three students in my recent case study had experienced in their pre-composition course. During my classroom observations, I noted the ways in which the teacher for this course acknowledged, validated and extended students' contributions. She consistently recapitulated, paraphrased, and provided generalizations for students' ideas, whether they took the form of opinions, guesses or new questions.

She invited students to consider each other's thoughts and to raise questions in order to clarify and to challenge. The in-class writing in which students were involved was at times in response to sets of questions, but they were questions that asked them to weigh the issues under consideration, to go off in new directions, or to interpret. When students worked together and shared each other's writing, they responded to one another in the same way that their teacher had reacted during class discussions, as if they had internalized the role she played as an interested reader/listener.

My interview with this teacher revealed the philosophical underpinnings of her model of instruction. She spoke of wanting her students to explore their own thoughts because "it is critical to let students discover their personal ideas first rather than guessing what the teacher wants." She indicated the importance of finding out "what students know so that you can build on it." The readings she had organized around a particular theme were chosen in order to provide alternative perspectives since she "want[s] them to understand that there's more than one point of view." Much of the writing was never collected or read but rather offered her students "ways into the reading and writing." With reference to topics students wrote about, she indicated that, while she provided suggested topics for writing, the most intriguing topics grew out of the class discussions. She also admitted that she always allowed students the option of writing about whatever they wanted, explaining that it was essential that students "be involved if they are to make progress as writers" and that "because these students are beginning writers, they don't have the confidence and don't know how to write about a topic they're not interested in." She spoke of providing students the opportunity to do self-evaluations of their own writing development so they can articulate what they think they have and haven't learned and so that her instruction can better accommodate their perceived needs. Finally, she recalled her previous product-based teaching experiences which gave her far greater control over what students were to produce but with which she came to be dissatisfied, and explained that "teachers don't change 'cause it's easier to blame the students."

Interviews with both Carlos and Nham reflect the ways their experiences in this writing course affected them. Carlos talked about being able to write easily about ideas that "came from [him], not the book," about not being afraid because "all ideas are O.K. There's no right or wrong," about "writing for [him]self, not for a grade." He valued the freedom he was given to develop his own ideas and the encouragement that "made [him] willing to continue work on [his] papers." He referred to the kinds of questions the teacher raised in her responses and how he had learned to anticipate her concerns: "I can sit down and ask myself the questions that I know she's going to ask me." He characterized her responses to his writing and his subsequent revisions as a "kind of conversation between teacher and student. It's like we're working together on the same paper. It's a kind of team. Maybe it won't be perfect, but it will be the best we do." (Note the "we.") Finally, he remarked that what differentiated this teacher from others was that "she is not only a teacher, but a friend...I can say she is also a student because she learns from us. Other teachers are trying to teach us something and forget about us as people."

Nham's comments echoed much of what Carlos said. Nham no longer feared writing because this teacher was "open" and valued what he had to say. He talked about feeling comfortable with writing and realizing that writing "lets [him] think, lets [him] learn, and lets [him] learn English cause you look forward to express ideas." He recalled hating writing throughout high school because his ESL teachers tried to "change [his] ideas," but that his attitude was now very different: "[This teacher] doesn't change my ideas. She follows your ideas." He also spoke of his own development: "You can't be perfect right away. She's calm. Lets us think. She lets us talk. That's how we learn. I feel I want to study forever."

It became obvious through my observations and interviews that what defined this classroom was not a particular set of readings, or techniques, or writing topics, but rather the teacher/student roles, the teacher-student relationship, and the teacher's assumptions about writing and knowledge and how they are generated. It was clear that in this classroom students and teachers were indeed, as Carlos had put it, a "team," that interaction both during classroom discussion and throughout the revision process was a kind of dialogue, that students were recognized as knowers, and that knowledge did not so much exist out there and get taken in, but rather evolved through negotiation and collaboration.

It is interesting that a number of recent ethnographic studies confirm that it is instructional features such as these, rather than a particular methodology or curriculum, that enhances and promotes writing development. For example, in studies of high school classes observed by Dunn, Florio-Ruane and Clark (1985) and Kantor (1984), the teachers did not take on the role of sole audience and examiner, as did the teachers observed by Applebee (1984), but rather were viewed as fellow negotiator and "trusted adult" (Kantor, p. 81). As Kantor pointed out, the mode of interaction between teacher and students, and among students, was more like a gathering of friends. The non-directive and open nature of the classroom, the focus on the intentions and purposes of the students, the encouraging and text-specific suggestions offered by both teachers and students all served to give authority back to the student authors. Students were urged "to discover meanings for themselves, rather than trying to guess the teacher's agenda" (Kantor, p. 91).

Edelsky's (1986) study of first, second and third grade bilingual classrooms revealed what happened when children were engaged in whole authentic written discourse which allowed for exploration rather than artificial and skills-based tasks. Furthermore, when control was shared, when children chose what they wanted to write about, when what they brought to the classroom was acknowledged, children who would otherwise be considered "at risk" came to be viewed "as knowers, as doers, as people with linguistic...and conceptual strengths" (p. 94). Ammon's (1985) study of third grade ESL classes likewise suggests the importance of providing children the opportunity to write about something of personal relevance, even when, or perhaps especially if, these children's English language proficiency is limited. What differentiated these classrooms from the others observed, in which "language input...often seemed to be dominated by routine questions and directives" (p. 81), was the understanding that writing development involves producing written texts that are meaningful and important to the writer. Urzúa's (1987) recent research on four Southeast Asian children writing in English confirms the findings of Edelsky's and Ammon's classroom research. Her study underlines the notion that children have to be in control and have to be allowed to make decisions in their writing if their voices are to develop.

Yet another investigation (Diaz, Moll and Mehan, 1986), this one of bilingual junior high school students who were considered "poor" writers, likewise points to the changes these students underwent as a result of their involvement in writing about issues that were of significance to them. These students were engaged in a collaborative exploration of their home communities, work reminiscent of the research described by Heath (1983). They came to depend on and consult one another and took charge of the direction of their research and writing activities. As a result, control shifted from teachers to students, teachers becoming less directive and more capable of building on their students' findings, and students taking greater responsibility for what they investigated and what they wrote about.

Finally, in a study of a range of classrooms representing the first through the twelfth grade, classrooms which appeared to be quite different from one another, Perl and Wilson (1986) found that what transcended these differences were the fundamental assumptions that teachers had about teaching and learning. The students and teachers in these classrooms worked together as a community of learners. Teachers were not focused on a prescribed and packaged curriculum, nor did they view themselves as the only source of knowledge. Rather, students were involved in their own inquiry and reflection, in writing that allowed them to think for themselves and establish their own perspectives. Rather than being asked to "recapitulate what someone else had said or thought," they were invited to "say and think what they had never said or thought before" (p. 256). And as students came to exercise their own authority, they wrote for and learned from one another: they became "readers, helpmates, listeners, advisors, co-inquirers, seekers of aid for their own work, and authors whose writing could, at times, have an impact on others...Together readers and writers taught one another what it meant to serve another's writing, to aid in another's growth" (p. 252). What seemed to characterize these classrooms, then, was a commitment to the idea that students are capable of exploration, growth and the making of meaning.

UNCERTAINTY, EXPLORATION AND THE QUESTIONING STANCE

Stepping back from the particulars of each of these studies, one can see very definite patterns. It is patterns of this sort that seemed to emerge in Applebee's (1981) earlier study of classroom instruction. This is how Applebee characterized the best writing instruction he and his colleagues observed in 300 classroom visits:

> In the better lessons, and even more so in the few that were really exceptional, the students were faced with problems that had to be solved out of their own intellectual and experiential resources. Often they would work together to solve problems posed by the teacher; this forced the students both to articulate their solutions more clearly and to defend them in the face of opposing opinions. The subject of the discussion seemed less important than the openness of the approach; what mattered was the sense that the students could offer legitimate solutions of their own rather than discover a solution the teacher had already devised (p. 105).

Here again we have come back to the idea of a pedagogy that allows students to work toward a "legitimate solution of their own." It is in fact such a pedagogy that seems to define good teachers across all subject areas and levels, as Macrorie (1987) has found. It seems then that in order to effect real change in our students, we need to leave behind the security, the certainty, and the control of a "pedagogy of answers" and refrain from what Emig (1987) calls "magical thinking," whereby we convince ourselves that what is taught is necessarily learned. We need to understand that "false" questions (Macrorie 1968, p. 6) result in pseudo-learning and lead to what Garth Boomer (1987) has somewhat exaggeratedly described as the "atrophying or retardation of the learner's brain power because most of the school answers are already known and known to be already known" (p. 101). We need to come to the realization, as Ann Berthoff (1987) has, that "nothing can kill a class sooner than to ask a question to which there is a prefabricated answer" (p. 33). We need to stop playing what Elbow (1973) calls the "doubting game," based on the premise that it is unlikely that students are capable of generating knowledge, creating meaning, thinking autonomously and imaginatively.

Instead, we need to play a very different kind of game, the "believing game"—which requires, according to Elbow (1973), inhibit[ing] your impulse for answers" (p. 176), "fighting the itch for closure" (p. 177). Playing the "believing game" promotes the asking of real questions and encourages all participants to ask questions; it allows for involvement, commitment, risk-taking and collaboration; it generates hypothesis-testing and welcomes multiple interpretations; it gives rise to explorations of the unknown and reexaminations of the known. Playing this sort of game means stepping back and waiting and, to some extent, not teaching, trusting that students are capable of impressive kinds of discoveries when their attempts are not subverted and their purposes not appropriated.

By challenging students with new kinds of questions and holding in abeyance our responses, by laying the groundwork for genuine research and inquiry, we enter a relationship that enfranchises our students as teachers and transforms us into learners. It is such a participatory model of education that characterizes a wide range of instructional levels and contexts, for example, the exemplary writing classrooms described by ethnographic researchers, Heath's (1983) collaborative work with teachers and their students, the elementary classrooms of Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1963), the experiences of

Atwell (1987) and her eighth graders, the college basic writing courses designed by Bartholomae and Petrosky (1986). In each of these cases, teachers gave up their power over and control of learning and with that, the notion that there is a fixed and authoritative core of knowledge. For Nancy Martin (1987) this is inevitable: "Once a teacher moves out of the traditional position of being the giver of questions and the receiver of right or wrong answers, there is no more certainty" (p. 24). For Freire, this is desirable: "An indispensable quality of a teacher is not to be absolutely sure of any certainties" (Bruss and Macedo, 1985, p. 9).

When teachers change their perspective with reference to certainty, another transformation takes place. No longer consumed by the exigencies of teaching a prescribed curriculum or searching for "proven" classroom techniques, teachers are free to begin to look closely at their students and to raise questions about why they seem to write the way they do. Since their students' attempts are no longer viewed as deviations from some idealized version of a text, but rather understood as reasonable approximations of the target language, in this case, written discourse, teachers are able to search for the underlying coherence and logic of their texts. And when they have trouble doing so, their students can assist them, clarifying points that appear obscure, articulating what they meant to say, providing evidence that was left unstated, removing contradictions, untangling prose. This is what happened when Nham explained the basis for his texts to his tutor, texts that were consistently judged as non-standard by his teacher, but which revealed complex and sophisticated interpretations. Shaughnessy's (1977) and Bartholomae's (1980) studies of basic writers and my own studies (1982, 1983) of ESL writers illustrate the importance of letting students inform teachers about their built-in syllabus, about their strategies and processes, about the rules and generalizations according to which they operate, about their intentions and purposes for writing. And my more recent collaboration with Shirley Brice Heath (in press) further demonstrates how much students can discover about written discourse when they are challenged by genuine questions about their work and when what they already know is sustained and built upon.

When teachers become engaged by and begin to explore what their students know, they become researchers. And certainly one of the most critical developments in recent work in writing instruction is the notion that teachers "reclaim the classroom" (Goswami and Stillman, 1987) and become researchers in their own right. The transformation from teacher to learner and then to researcher quite obviously leads teachers to inquire into their own practices, assumptions and rationales, to raise questions about what they do and why they do it, to formulate and reformulate theories, to test hypotheses and generate alternatives. Britton (1987) points out that this research is not so much a matter of proving something as a "quiet form of discovery and learning." So, again, what's important is not so much the answers, but rather the process of discovering and learning. And it is important not only because of what teachers discover about themselves and their students, but because it parallels exactly the kinds of learning students need to be involved in. Thus, by researching their own practice, teachers gain insight into and have first-hand experiences with learning that is tentative, complex, non-linear and generative. Ultimately, this gives them the ability to identify with what their students experience when these students learn, when they use language, when they write.

Because a "pedagogy of questions" does not insist on the right answer, the correct method, the one solution, the authoritative stance, it allows us to more easily deal with the contradictions and ambiguities, to "embrace the contraries" (Elbow, 1986) that we inevitably encounter in our practice. Paradoxically, it is this confrontation with uncertainty and conflict that empowers us and our students. Unfortunately, however, it is a pedagogy of answers, based on "mimetic knowledge," knowledge that is possessed and transmitted by the teacher to the student, that appears to be on the rise in current educational practice (Jackson, 1986). One example of this trend is the pervasiveness of skills-based textbooks. In a recent piece in *The New York Times* (1987) Diane Ravitch decries this development in the schools, calling the basal readers used "dumbed-down" by readability formulas and "blanded-down" to remove anything that might offend. She points out that today's textbooks, influenced by widespread standardized testing, are focused on helping children

> take time tests, to fill in the blanks, to circle the correct answer...They offer school districts a uniform curriculum; a package of colorful posters, workbooks and teacher guides, as well as endorsements from reading experts. The intellectual level of the teacher guides is, if anything, even lower than that of the children's textbooks. They tell the teacher exactly what to say, which questions to ask, and which answers are correct.

> They summarize each story, on the assumption that the teacher cannot understand the material without the guide's assistance (Ravitch, 1987, p. 47).

Yet another interesting indication of a move toward a pedagogy of answers is E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy*, a widely popular book that makes the argument that in order to solve the literacy crisis in the schools, all children need to possess the same core of knowledge and then presumes to tell us "what every American needs to know," which is the subtitle of the book.

Freire (Bruss and Macedo, 1985) encourages us to combat these tendencies to control, to be secure, to be certain. He understands that this may be risky and threatening, for such an undertaking inevitably gives rise to questions that don't "correspond to the answers we already have" (p. 9). But, he assures us, this is precisely the point, that one must "get lost" in order to "find [one]self" (9), that exploring questions for which there are no obvious answers allows us to "envision what is possible rather than what is probable" (Britzman 1986, p. 451). This is reminiscent of Stevick's (1980) provocative thoughts about language teaching. Like Freire, he urges us to be willing to take risks, become vulnerable, experience loss, give up the role of "grand inquisitor" (pp. 283-295). For, as he puts it:

> Some riddles have no final answers. A few answerless riddles are still worth asking. They are worth asking not for their answers, since they have none, but for what we do in struggling with them (p. 3).

Perl and Wilson (1986), too, conclude that it is the struggling with questions that ultimately leads to genuine learning, and that this is as true for learning to write. "Insights in teaching and writing," they tell us, "often [spring] from the same source: the questioning that requires one to pause, to look closely, to think for oneself, to engage what [is] yet unknown" (p. 253).

And so I come to the end of my talk, inviting you to pose "a few answerless riddles," "to engage what [is] yet unknown," for the questions you ask of yourself and of your students will ultimately lead to discoveries and insights and, as in the case of all learning, to new questions that have yet to be explored.

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What Are We Rating When We Rate Holistically?

Of all the methods of scoring essays, direct methods have become accepted as the best choice for assessing overall writing proficiency (Stiggins, 1982); the holistic rating of compositions in particular is widely considered to have the highest level of construct validity (e.g., Perkins, 1983).

As is well known, holistic rating is usually carried out on the basis of overall judgment, guided by specific rating criteria on a single rating scale. These criteria generally focus on two global aspects of compositions: (1) whether a thesis has been clearly stated, developed and supported, and (2) whether sentence structure, punctuation and spelling are generally correct. As is probably also well known to classroom teachers, L2 students often seem convinced that it is the second aspect which "really counts." This same question about the extent to which the second factor plays a role in the holistic evaluation of the essays of nonnative students arises not infrequently among ESL and English faculty involved in basic skills testing.

This paper presents the results of a pilot investigation into this issue. Five holistically rated essays from the ESL program at Brooklyn College representing five levels of ability were scored for "conformity to correct prose," a technique based on error counting; the rank order which resulted remained the same. Findings are discussed in the context of relevant recent research in the area of holistic writing assessment.

PROCEDURES

The five ESL essays were officially scored compositions written by ESL students at Brooklyn College for the CUNY Writing Assessment Test. This writer was given the compositions during his first semester in the ESL program at Brooklyn College as an illustration of five different levels of ability corresponding to five levels of instruction in the program.

The scoring procedure ("scoring for conformity to correct prose") was taken from Oller (1979). The method involves first deciding what the essay writer has tried to state, then rewriting the composition to make it conform to standard usage without changing the author's intended meaning. The rewriting involves removing unnecessary material, adding necessary information which the writer may have left out, and correcting misused forms. As Oller admits, "there is guesswork and inference in any such rewriting process" (Oller, 1979, p. 386); however, he also claims that the method has been shown to be substantially reliable and valid.

Other quantitative measurements have been used in similar research, and most error-based scoring techniques have shown significant relationships with holistically determined ratings. For example, Brodkey and Young (1981) scored 20 L2 essays according to a method based on counting the errors in the first 250 words of the composition to determine the proportion of correct usage in ESL compositions. This correctness score correlated highly (Kendall's Concordance W values ranged from 0.70 to 0.79) with holistic rankings among 4 narrow levels of proficiency.

Gaies (1980) found that T-unit measures which take the absence of errors into account were effective discriminators among levels of writing proficiency, and Perkins (1980) also found that among 10 objective measures (such as words per composition, T-units per composition) those which took the absence of errors into consideration (e.g., errors/T-unit, number of words in error-free T-units) correlated with holistic evaluations. Indeed, in a later review of writing assessment methods, Perkins (1983) noted that objective measures which take errors into consideration "function as robust discriminators among proficiency levels" (p. 662).

One purpose of this study was to carry out a preliminary investigation to determine whether ratings based upon "scoring for conformity to correct prose" would produce similar results as those discussed above. As the only method based on error counting which produces a rewritten text in addition to carrying out quantitative measurements on the original text, interesting possibilities might then arise with respect to future research (for example, submitting rewritten texts for a second holistic evaluation, and comparing the results on both versions).

The score itself is derived by subtracting the number of errors from the number of error-free words in the original version and dividing the result by the number of words in the rewritten text. Only one error can be counted for one word of text. Spelling errors are only counted when they distort the morphology or pronunciation of a word; for example, Oller would not score "happend" for "happened" as an error, but would do so in the case of "blive" for believe. Examples of portions of two protocols scored by this writer are given below.

1. When the person who is being suffering from incurable illnesse, might wishes to terminat his live and that is naturally comes from what he is feeling but that is not given him the right to decide end his life. If we agree to do so, that means we are emotionaly having to do so. I worked in a hospital for a few months, and I know someone who sufferd from a great pain in his leg, he was in bed for about one year.

A person who is suffering from an incurable illness might wish to terminate his life and that naturally comes from what he is feeling, but that does not give him the right to decide to end his life. If we agree to this, that means we are emotionally doing it too. I worked in a hospital for a few months, and I knew someone who suffered from a great pain in his leg; he was in bed for about one year.

(SCORE [68 - 18]/81 = .61)

2. Computers are everywhere today, at work and play. Anyone who doesn't know how to use a computer is not prepared for the future. I agree with this basing my proof first of all on popularity of a computers among children. For example, a lot of children have computers at their homes. They use it to play many different kinds of games.

Computers are everywhere today, at work and play. Anyone who doesn't know how to use a computer is not prepared for the future. I agree with this basing my proof first of all on the popularity of computers among children. For example, a lot of children have computers in their homes. They use them to play many different kinds of games.

(SCORE: [58 - 3]/61 = .90)

RESULTS

Scoring the 5 ESL compositions "for conformity to correct prose" produced the same ranking which had been assigned holistically. These results can be seen in the table below:

Table 1

Level of composition	Score for "conformity to correct prose"
ESL 0.11 (beginning)	.39
ESL 0.12 (intermed.)	.69
ESL 1.00 (low adv.)	.76
ESL 1.01/1.02 (high adv.)	.91
English 1 (freshman comp.)	.96

Other quantitative measures also yielded the same rank order. Thus, number of error-free words in the original composition and the number of words in the rewritten version both increased along with the composition's placement levels; conversely, the number of errors in the original version decreased steadily as the placement level increased. These results are illustrated in Table 2 below:

Table 2

ESL level	Correct words in original	Total words in rewrite	Errors in original
ESL 0.11	109	150	50
ESL 0.12	199	231	40
ESL 1.00	228	258	31
ESL 1.01/1.02	360	376	18
English 1	416	427	8

DISCUSSION

The results of this pilot study confirm earlier research results showing that methods of scoring ESL compositions based upon error counts do generally seem to discriminate well between levels of writing proficiency as assessed holistically. Perhaps ESL students do have some grounds for their suspicions about what really counts in holistic writing tests. Indeed, studies other than those focused on error-counts also indicate that syntactic and other mechanical factors influence holistic ratings.

Thus Homburg (1984) examined 30 essays to determine what it is that readers do when they grade compositions. The study used various measures of length, of subordination and relativization, and of usage of "connectors" and concluded that objective measures representing concepts of error, relativization, and syntactic complexity accounted for 84% of the variance of the holistic grades assigned to the 30 compositions at three intermediate levels. The author also noted that such measures may become less important as proficiency increases. In contrast, Benton and Kiewra (1986) sampled 105 students and found that organizational ability (as judged by the solving of anagrams and the reordering of scrambled sentences or paragraphs) accounted for only 24% of the variance in holistic ratings. The study does, however, suffer from certain limitations. Subjects only wrote ten-minute essays and it is not entirely clear that the "tests of organizational ability" were sound.

Robinson (1986) found that handwriting, spelling and grammar affect holistic scores. Vann et al. (1984) found that faculty response to written errors by ESL students may be influenced by the faculty member's age, discipline and by the nature of the error itself ("respondents tended to be more accepting of those errors commonly made by native speakers of English..." p. 430). Finally, Hughes and Keeling (1984) investigated context effects (e.g., essays are rated lower when preceded by good-quality essays) and concluded that they are very persistent, to the point of being unavoidable.

In conclusion, there are some indications that ESL students may not be too far off the mark in their estimation of what it is that "really counts." However, further studies which examine the effect of the "organization" factor in holistic rating of compositions are necessary. It is hoped that, as already mentioned, the technique of "scoring for conformity to correct prose" could prove useful in this area for two reasons: (a) the technique appears sound, based upon this pilot study, and (b) the technique produces, as a by-product, grammatically correct "target versions" of essays which can then be examined solely in terms of their organizational content.

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An ESL Needs Assessment: Chinese Students at a Canadian University[1]

In recent years, since the open-door policy, an increasing number of scholars from the People's Republic of China have been sent abroad for advanced training and research. Although these individuals usually pass English proficiency tests and receive a certain period of cultural orientation and language training before going abroad, they are often shocked to find that they have difficulty understanding what people say to them. (Some may not even understand the lectures in the courses in which they are enrolled; others may not be able to express themselves clearly on their arrival.) The "culture shock" and language barriers encountered by Chinese students and scholars indicate that what they learned in China does not suffice to ensure their effective participation in real situations in an English-speaking country. In order to know how to narrow this gap between preparatory language studies and actual communication needs, a needs survey can help to identify the aspects of English which Chinese scholars think they may need most in order to succeed in an English-speaking setting.

This paper analyzes the results of a survey of needs in English completed by seventy Chinese visiting scholars and graduate students at a Canadian university. It is the first attempt to carry out a needs assessment among Chinese students in Canada by a Chinese. The analysis aims to answer the following questions: 1) What aspects of English do Chinese students think they need most in order to succeed in Canada? 2) Do the perceived needs differ between Chinese visiting scholars and graduate students? 3) Are there significant differences in the needs of individuals in various professional fields? Hopefully, findings from this study will contribute to a more accurate understanding of the language needs of Chinese studying in Canada and to the improvement of English language programs in China and Canada.

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[1] I sincerely thank Prof. Merrill Swain and Alister Cumming for their help and guidance on this study, as well as Dr. Doug Hart and Dr. Muriel Fung for their assistance on statistical analyses.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Since Munby's (1978) presentation of a model for the assessment of communication needs there has been considerable discussion of the utility (and drawbacks) of this approach to inform the design of ESL/EFL programs (Holec, 1980, Cunningsworth, 1983, Coffey, 1984). Alternative models have been proposed in Richterich and Chancerel (1980), Mackay and Palmer (1981) and Yalden (1983). Widdowson (1983) has criticized the narrow definitions of language and social functions produced by most needs surveys, suggesting that learning processes should be a more important focus for curriculum design. Stern (1988), among others, has proposed that a wider range of considerations be planned for in language program curricula.

Nevertheless, needs surveys have continued to play an important role in all aspects of educational planning (English and Kaufman, 1975, Witkin, 1984). For language programs, however, there are few examples, other than Richterich (1983) or Ostler (1980), of the results or applications of surveys of second language needs. A recent evaluation (Burnaby, Cumming and Belfiore, 1986) of a Chinese-Canadian cooperative language program has pointed out that empirical data on the actual language needs of Chinese learners in Canada are urgently needed to inform decisions about curriculum development and assessments of language proficiency in China and Canada. Hunter and Keehn (1985), in a recent survey of adult education in China, have stressed the great current need for applied educational research and data of all kinds to assist China in its modernization plans.

Beatty and Chan (1984) distributed a questionnaire to two groups of Chinese scholars to survey their academic needs. They compared the responses of 24 participants who had not yet left China with those of 22 scholars who had been at a California university for at least six months. The research revealed that although both groups considered they had similar academic needs, the respondents who had been in the U. S. showed more concern than the in-China respondents for the overall importance of almost all the items on the questionnaire. The authors concluded that for curriculum planning, "it is more important to assess the perceived needs of those who have experience in the target environment" (1984, p. 58), arguing that those who "have survived initial cultural adaptation... know what is important for them to learn" (1984, p. 59). No one so

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far has done any comprehensive study of both the academic and social needs in English of Chinese scholars in Canada. This is the purpose of the present research.

A questionnaire was distributed to students from the People's Republic of China studying at one university in a major Canadian city. The questionnaire consisted of the following three parts:

Part A Background Information
Part B Assessment of Academic Skills
Part C Assessment of Social Skills

In addition to identifying their age, sex, professional fields in China and Canada, and English learning experience, respondents were to rank 15 academic and 15 social skills on a 5-point scale according to the degree of importance to their life and academic study in Canada.

POPULATION STUDIED

The population for the present survey consisted of 70 subjects: 37 of them were graduate students (Master's candidates numbered 17; Ph.D. candidates numbered 20); 32 were visiting scholars (including one postdoctoral fellow). There were 64 males and 16 females, ranging in age from 22 to 60. Among them, 64.3% were between the age of 22-39; 31.4% were between the age of 40-49; only 4.3% were over 50.

Some of the respondents (15%) had majored in English at university in China, whereas 85% had not. Among the participants who had not majored in English at university, about 70% of them had studied English for 2-5 years on a part-time basis in China; 10% of them had studied English for less than 2 years; and 20% studied English for 6 to 7 years. Of the respondents who were English majors, the average period of English instruction in China was 4 years. The overall average period of full-time English study was 2.2 years. Of all the participants, only 16 had continued their full-time English study in Canada, for periods ranging from 2 months to 12 months. Over 70% of the total respondents had studied English in Canada on a part-time basis for 8 months or less. Subjects' professional backgrounds in China are listed in Table 1 (next page).

Their professional fields at the university in Canada can be classified into three categories: 47 were in Science programs (including Engineering and Medicine); 11 were in English programs; and 10 were in Business and Economics programs.

Table 1
Professional Backgrounds of Subjects, in China
(n=70)

Position in China	Workplace in China	n	%
University Instructor		25	35.7
	University	47	73.4
Engineer		7	10.0
	Institute	9	14.1
Graduate Student		16	22.9
	Hospital	1	1.4
Doctor		4	5.7
	Factory	4	6.3
University English Teacher		6	8.6
	Research Institute	3	4.7
Manager		2	2.9
B.A. Student		6	8.6
Professor		1	1.4
Research Associate		3	4.3

The average number of months the subjects had spent in Canada by the time they completed the questionnaire in May 1986 was 23 months.[2] Eighty-five percent of them had been in Canada for a period of 2 to 36 months. (See Table 2, next page, for details.) None of them had ever worked or studied abroad before.

RESULTS

This section of the questionnaire consisted of items representing fifteen academic skills which might be required in the respondents' academic activities. The participants were asked to rate these skills according to the degree of importance, i.e., from "not at all important" to "very important" on a five-point scale. Results are classified according to the roles of respondents at the Canadian university, distinguishing between visiting scholars (Group A) and degree students (Group B).

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[2] This average length is affected by 10 Ph.D. students. They had been in Canada for 60-78 months.

Table 2
Months in Canada

	2-24 Months	25-36 Months	60-78 Months
Position			
Visiting scholar	27	2	0
Graduate student	19	7	10
Major			
Science	29	6	10
ESL	10	0	0
Business & Economics	9	1	0

Table 3 (next page) shows, in descending order of importance, the mean total ranking of the perceived needs of Group A (visiting scholars). The most important items were understanding instructions of a supervisor and understanding lectures. These responses show a great concern for listening comprehension skills.

Also high on the list were a number of items related to research (giving talks or a seminar, using a library) and the skills of reading books and articles. It is apparent that the respondents were highly concerned about their oral skills and receptive skills. Writing skills on the whole were not seen to be as important for this group. Of all the fifteen skills the lowest in ranking was writing exams. Obviously, this skill is needed more by graduate students than by visiting scholars.

The relative importance of skills related to listening, speaking and doing research (as well as the corresponding unimportance attached to skills related to study in a classroom for a degree) appear to show that the visiting scholars, on the whole, are research-oriented and are more interested in oral communication and obtaining information.

Table 4 shows the ranking of the perceived needs of Group B (graduate students). The predominant concern for academic and research-oriented productive skills—writing long reports (4.4) and giving talks and seminars (4.3)—was seen in this group.

Table 3
Perceived Academic Needs from Group A: Visiting Scholars

Ranking	Perceived Academic Needs
4.4	Understand instructions of a supervisor
4.3	Understand lectures
4.1	Give talks or seminar
4.1	Read books and articles
4.0	Use a library
3.9	Discuss issues informally with colleagues
3.9	Discuss issues in class
3.8	Write long reports
3.7	Fill out applications and forms
3.6	Write short reports
3.6	Get information about universities in North America
3.6	Take notes in class
3.5	Write resumes
3.5	Write business letters
2.9	Write exams

Among the less academic-oriented skills, the need for writing business letters ranked highest (3.8). We should notice that the overall importance of almost all the items on the questionnaire is greater in Group B than in Group A. All academic-oriented productive and receptive skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) were almost equally emphasized in this group.

In general, both groups indicated they believe that understanding lectures and understanding supervisors were important factors in their successful use of English at the university. Research- and academic-oriented skills (giving talks and seminars, reading books and articles, writing long and short reports) were also high in importance for them. The emphasis on the need for knowing how to use a library in both groups indicates that the respondents have realized the important role that a library plays in their research and academic fields (in China, the library system is less sophisticated compared to the library system in North America). Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) showed that there was no significant difference

Table 4
Perceived Academic Needs from Group B: Graduate Students

Ranking	Perceived Academic Needs
4.4	Write long reports
4.3	Give talks or seminar
4.2	Understand instructions of a supervisor
4.2	Understand lectures
4.2	Discuss issues in class
4.2	Read books and articles
4.2	Write exams
4.2	Write short reports
3.9	Take notes in class
3.9	Use a library
3.8	Write business letters
3.7	Write resumes
3.7	Fill out applications and forms
3.6	Discuss issues informally with colleagues
3.4	Get information about universities in North America

on any of the variables except writing exams (P<0.01). Spearman Correlations showed that the correlation between the rank orders Group A (visiting scholars) and Group B (graduate students) was 0.96.

Needs According to Professional Field

If we look at the needs for the rated skills in terms of the respondents' fields at the Canadian university (Table 5, next page), we find that, on the whole, the results are comparable to those in Tables 3 and 4. ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between ratings on any of the fifteen academic skills (P <0.01). However, Spearman Correlations revealed that there were minor differences among the three different professional fields. The correlation between the rank orders Group A (English) and Group B (Science) was 0.56; between Group B and Group C (Business and Economics) was 0.40; and between Group A and Group C was 0.54.

Table 5
Perceived Academic Needs According to Professional Field

Skills	English	Science	Business/ Economics
Understand instruction of supervisor	4.6	4.3	3.9
Understand lectures	4.6	4.1	4.5
Discuss in class	4.5	3.9	4.6
Give talks or seminar	4.3	4.1	4.5
Discuss informally with colleagues	3.5	3.8	3.9
Read books and articles	4.5	4.1	4.1
Take notes in class	4.4	3.6	4.0
Write exams	3.7	3.4	4.5
Write long reports	4.1	4.1	4.8
Write short reports	3.5	4.1	4.2
Fill out forms	3.7	3.7	3.5
Write resumes	3.6	3.6	3.8
Write business letters	3.7	3.6	4.0
Get information about universities in North America	3.2	3.6	3.7
Use a library	3.7	4.0	3.9

The importance of listening comprehension skills was emphasized primarily by respondents studying English. Next, this group saw needs for understanding supervisors and lectures, skills of discussing in class, reading books and articles and giving talks or seminars. The importance of taking notes in class was emphasized in this group (4.4) in correspondence to the importance of understanding lectures. For them, writing short reports was not as important as writing long reports (ratings of 3.5 vs. 4.1). Getting information about universities in North America was ranked lowest for all the three groups.

For the Business and Economics majors, the skill of writing long reports was considered exceptionally important (4.8). The importance of classroom-oriented activities such as understanding lectures, discussing subjects in class, giving talks or seminars, taking notes in class and writing exams also ranked very high in this group.

Of all the perceived needs in Table 5, the average mean for each item was well above 3.0. That is to say, the respondents considered all the fifteen skills listed in the section to be important. Priority was given to oral-aural skills and skills that are academic and research oriented.

Social Skills: Needs According to Position

The fifteen social skills listed in this section of the questionnaire were ranked in similar ways by Group A (visiting scholars) and Group B (graduate students), as shown in Table 6. Spearman Correlations showed that the correlation of the rank orders between Groups A and B was 0.86. ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between ratings on any of the fifteen social skills ($P<0.01$).

Table 6
Perceived Social Needs According to Position

Skills	Group A	Group B
Make a phone call	4.0	4.0
Understand radio, film, TV program	4.3	3.9
Read newspapers and magazines	4.1	3.9
Understand culture and customs	3.9	3.9
Conversation with Canadian friends	3.7	3.8
Participate in an informal party	3.8	3.6
Visit a Canadian home	3.7	3.2
Write social letters	3.7	3.7
Use a bank	3.7	3.6
Read ads, catalogues or posters	3.6	3.6
Use public transportation	3.3	3.5
Ask directions	3.3	3.1
Use a mail system	3.1	3.2
Arrange a place to live	3.0	3.3
Shopping	2.8	2.9

The respondents in both groups indicated the importance of making a phone call; understanding radio, films and TV programs; reading newspapers and magazines; participating in daily conversation with Canadian friends; participating in informal parties; writing social letters; using a bank, public transportation, and mail system;

and reading ads, catalogues and posters. One of the noticeable aspects, emphasized equally by both Group A and B, was the strong need for understanding the culture and customs of Canada.

If we look at the responses in terms of an overall percentage, we have a clearer picture of the subjects' attitudes to these activities. By eliminating the missing cases and combining the scale Fairly Important, Important and Very Important into an Important category, and taking Not at all Important as another, the following tabulation table emerges.

Table 7
Perceived Social Needs, Overall

Skills	Important	Not Important
Make a phone call	91.0%	1.4%
Read newspapers and magazines	91.4%	1.4%
Understand culture and customs	90.0%	4.3%
Participate in an informal party	88.6%	1.4%
Conversation with Canadian friends	87.1%	1.4%
Understand radio, film, TV program	87.2%	4.3%
Use a bank	85.7%	2.9%
Write social letters	82.0%	2.9%
Read ads, catalogues or posters	82.8%	7.1%
Visit a Canadian home	81.4%	5.7%
Use public transportation	75.7%	7.0%
Arrange a place to live	71.5%	8.6%
Use a mail system	70.0%	10.0%
Ask directions	65.7%	12.9%
Shopping	65.7%	12.9%

Those activities that are culturally-oriented and require more complex strategies for communication, (e.g., making a phone call, reading newspapers and magazines and understanding culture and customs) appeared more important than the remaining activities. This may imply that the respondents are expressing some desire for developing communicative competence in order to perform communicative activities. Asking directions and shopping were not considered as important as the rest of the activities. One of the respondents explained the reason as, "It is too simple to do shopping here even without much English."

Social Skills: Needs According to Professional Field

Table 8 contains the mean ranking of the responses from the three major professional groups.

Table 8
Perceived Social Needs According to Professional Field

Skills	English	Science	Business/ Economics
Make a phone call	4.5	3.9	3.5
Understand radio, film, TV program	4.3	4.1	3.9
Read newspapers and magazines	4.6	3.9	4.1
Understand culture and customs	4.4	3.7	3.7
Conversation with Canadian friends	3.8	3.7	3.9
Participate in an informal party	3.7	3.6	3.8
Visit a Canadian home	4.2	3.2	4.0
Write social letters	4.5	3.5	3.6
Use a bank	4.0	3.7	3.9
Read ads, catalogues or posters	4.1	3.5	3.8
Use public transportation	3.8	3.4	2.8
Ask directions	3.7	3.1	3.0
Use a mail system	3.7	3.1	2.9
Arrange a place to live	3.1	3.2	3.1
Shopping	3.3	2.8	2.6

In general, these responses were very similar to the responses in Table 6. There are not great differences between the three groups. Spearman Correlations showed that the correlation between the rank orders Group A (English) and Group B (Science) was 0.71; between Group B and Group C (Business and Economics) was 0.60; and between Group A and Group C was 0.57. However, one noticeable difference is the overall importance given to almost all items by respondents who had specialized in English language.

It appears that experienced second language learners and users were more concerned (than were the non-English majors) with the needs of cultural knowledge, communicative strategies and necessary linguistic knowledge in order to participate in various social activities—e.g., using a bank (4.0), making a phone call (4.5), being a guest in a Canadian home (4.2), and writing social letters (4.5).

Of all the three groups, science students do not seem as "sociable" as the language and business students. The mean ranking for being a guest in a Canadian home was only 3.2 in the science group, while in the other two groups the means were 4.2 and 4.0, respectively.

On the whole, the results of this analysis suggest that linguistically complex skills oriented toward communicative strategies, e.g., making a phone call, understanding radio, film, TV programs, and reading newspapers and magazines may be more needed than less demanding survival skills, such as asking directions and shopping. Knowledge of the second culture was regarded as the most important need by respondents studying English. Mass media systems like newspapers, magazines, radio and TV were considered as very important channels for subjects to develop their understanding of the target society and target language.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

It is now possible to discuss the major questions posed earlier. The first question was, "What aspects of English do Chinese students think they need most in order to succeed in Canada?" The results of this study suggest that all the academic skills in the questionnaire were considered very important, except that some tasks required skills like writing exams, a skill which is obviously not important for visiting scholars. Most social skills were also considered very important by those respondents. Priority was given to making a phone call, understanding radio, film, TV programs, understanding culture and customs, reading newspapers and magazines, and conversation with Canadian friends.

Along with the suggestions from other findings (Beatty and Chan, 1984; Ostler, 1980), this writer recommends that the following skills and activities should be emphasized in training programs in China:

1. Developing Communicative Competence for Academic Needs
    a) ample opportunities for listening to lectures and interviews;
    b) writing for science and academic purposes (e.g., writing long and short reports, taking notes from readings and lectures);
    c) participating in research-oriented or academic-oriented discussions, both in formal and informal situations of various sorts (e.g., giving talks or seminars; discussing issues with instructors and classmates);

d) skills to obtain and provide information for general academic and research purposes (e.g., using a library; filling out various forms and writing resumes);
e) reading for science and academic purpose (e.g., reading journals and articles, textbooks, and research reports) and general reading strategies.

2. Developing Communicative Competence for the Needs of Social Life
   a) ample opportunities for developing oral-aural skills through participating in various authentic or "authentic-like" activities such as listening to recordings and the radio; watching TV and video programs from the target country; discussing daily-life activities with native or "native-like" speakers if possible. One way to develop both communicative competence and communicative strategies of oral-aural English may be through activities like making phone calls on different topics, since 91% of the respondents have expressed the strong desire for this need.
   b) ample opportunities to develop knowledge of the second culture was regarded as most important and badly needed by most respondents (90%). As one of the respondents stated: "If the English training program is aiming to prepare people who are going to study or work abroad to communicate, I would like to suggest that due attention be paid to introducing the culture, social customs...of the countries they are going to. In most cases, the failure to communicate successfully is due to the lack of this knowledge."
   c) extensive reading skills through reading newspapers, magazines, ads and posters and various forms of text.

One major point is that language training for social skills appears to be considered as important as academic English training. The general language competence of learners may directly influence their abilities to perform academic studies in an English-speaking country. As Hutchinson and Waters (1981, p. 63) put it, "the language of modern technology is a development of Western culture and society—not an artificial, cultureless code, but an adaptation of the existing resources of the English language and the culture this reflects." Developing general language competence should be considered essential for the success of these learners' academic and scientific studies in Canada.

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The second question was, "Do the perceived needs differ between visiting scholars and graduate students?" ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference on any of the variables except writing exams. However, the results from Frequency Tabulations revealed (see Tables 4 and 5) that the visiting scholars were particularly concerned about their oral and receptive skills, while the graduate students paid equal attention to the four academic- and research-oriented language skills (i.e., listening to lectures; writing long and short reports; giving talks or seminars; reading books and using a library).

If we arrange the four language skills according to the degree of importance indicated by both groups, we find visiting scholars gave priority to: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Graduate students gave priority to: writing, listening, speaking and reading. This implies that the respondents identified their needs not only according to their own learning experiences and interests, but also according to the different tasks they were expected to fulfill. Writing exams in English is obviously an integral part of graduate studies, but not necessary for visiting scholars. Secondly, the graduate students appeared more concerned with an overall command of all academic-oriented and research-oriented English skills, especially effective writing skills.

In regards to needs for social skills, ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference on any of the variables. This implies that, overall, both graduate students and visiting scholars expressed similar needs for social uses of English.

The final question in this study was, "Are there differences in the needs of individuals in various professional fields?" ANOVA again showed that there was no significant difference between ratings on any of the fifteen academic skills. The overall means of the three major fields on fifteen items listed in the questionnaire varied from 4.33 to 3.45. The total average mean was 4.0. The results indicate that the abilities to carry out these fifteen academic activities are important for scholars and students alike. However, Spearman Correlations showed that there were some differences between science students and business students on certain academic skills; for example, writing long reports and writing exams, which appeared to be extremely important for business students, were not that important for science students. In training programs, therefore, we should consider not only the main objective of developing trainees' communicative competence in performing these diverse activities, but also the trainees' specific needs in each professional field.

The findings from ranking of social needs (Table 8) suggested that understanding the culture and customs of Canada should be regarded as a key factor to the success of Chinese students' adaptation to social life in Canada. Many respondents indicated that "teaching culture was least emphasized in most language training programs."

To sum up, some of the findings from this study have reinforced what has already been established in previous research. For example, the results show the importance of listening to lectures, giving talks or seminars, and writing for scientific and academic purposes. As in Ostler's (1980) study, the present research exposes the importance of assessing specific language and social needs according to professional fields and positions of the respondents. The study itself adds to the information collected by Beatty and Chan (1984), who proposed that it is important to assess the perceived needs of those who have experience in the target environment, since they clearly provide a better indicator of the actual needs of the student population to be incorporated into curriculum design.

Other findings may stimulate a re-evaluation of some activities commonly taught in EFL or ESL courses, such as shopping, to which respondents gave low priority. An additional value of this assessment is that it enables language educators to predict areas of the curriculum which incoming trainees may be reluctant to accept as important to their future needs as scholars or students in English-speaking settings. The identification of some major-specific and position-specific needs, such as the requirements for graduate students to write research proposals, long reports and examinations; the low priority given to being a guest at a Canadian home by science students, etc., may provide some insights and information to help curriculum design.

It should be noted, however, that the population of this study is limited compared with the overall Chinese population being sent abroad. Findings from this study may not reflect the perceived needs of other populations who are going to study in European countries, or countries other than Canada (Hayhoe, 1986). Nevertheless, this needs assessment provides EFL or ESL training programs with valuable empirical data to work with, to supplement teachers' intuitive assumptions about their learners' needs. Since the objective of language training programs in China is to prepare Chinese scholars or students to succeed in English-speaking settings, and the purpose of Canadian programs is to continue this aim, assessments of these learners' own perceived requirements are not just useful—they are necessary.

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Adaptive Instruction and Second Language Learning: The Dilemma

For several years now, educators have been aware of the powerful role played by learning style. Many styles having to do with cognitive processing have been identified, such as field independence vs. field sensitivity; modality, such as visual vs. auditory preference for presentation of information; and numerous other preferences or styles which continue to come to light. Sensitive teachers have made efforts to attend to these factors so that learners will not be faced with unnecessary obstacles in classrooms. Yet an essential dilemma has still not been resolved: how best should teachers adapt instruction so as to recognize the existence of these different styles and still provide quality education for all students?

The steps usually taken to determine if there is a need for instructional adaptation are as follows:

1. Identify instructional goals (task specific if possible)
2. Specify pre-instructional knowledge or skills which the learner needs in order to reach these goals
3. Assess learners' pre-instructional knowledge and skills
4. Compare 2 and 3
5. If there is any disparity, adapt in some way, e.g.
    a. redefine the task
    b. propose alternate routes for task accomplishment
    c. improve learners' knowledge and skills

Thus, we note that whenever there is incompatibility between learning task requirements and a learner's capacities, some sort of adaptation is called for. Traditionally, the instructional models available to teachers or curriculum planners ranged along a continuum from *lockstep instruction* to *individualization.* The definition of the problem in this way has led to classroom procedures which, by general consensus, have not been successful. This paper will propose a redefinition of the instructional options, seen as two categories of adaptation: *instruction-based adaptation* and *learner-based* *adaptation*. The implications of these contrasting models of adaptation will be discussed with respect to programs teaching second languages in classroom settings.

INDIVIDUALIZATION AND ATI

Given what we know about the variety and complexity of human behavior, lockstep ("one way for everyone") instruction seems inappropriate for classroom settings. It is logical, therefore, for individualization of instruction to be regarded as the best type of adaptation whenever there is a learner/task mismatch. In the field of second language learning and teaching, interest in individualization developed from the early 1970s (Politzer, 1971, Geddes & Sturtridge, 1982).

Individualization has taken many forms, of which only a few need be cited:

1. matching student to teacher on some dimension, such as cognitive style
2. providing varied and optional forms of presentation of information, such as visual as well as auditory modes
3. providing self-paced programmed learning modules
4. drawing up performance contracts which specified mutually agreed-upon ends and means

Such forms of adaptation were based on a methodological paradigm known as Aptitude Treatment Interaction (ATI). The assumption underlying this methodology is that the environment can, and should, be adapted to suit the needs and capacities of learners.

ATI, pioneered by Cronbach and Snow (1977), looks at the effects of interactions between learner characteristics and instructional methods, and is opposed to the idea of "one best method" for all learners. "Aptitude" here refers to "any characteristic of a person which forecasts his probability of success under a given treatment" (Cronbach and Snow, 1977, p. 6), and includes abilities, personality variables, and also non-test variables such as age, gender, and socioeconomic status. An interaction is said to exist when a given treatment (one method or another) has one effect on one kind of person and a different effect on another kind of person. In some cases, differential assignment of persons to treatments may thus be called for. For example: all those who learn "best" using Method A go to room A with Mr. X, and those who learn "best" with Method B go to room B with Ms. Y.

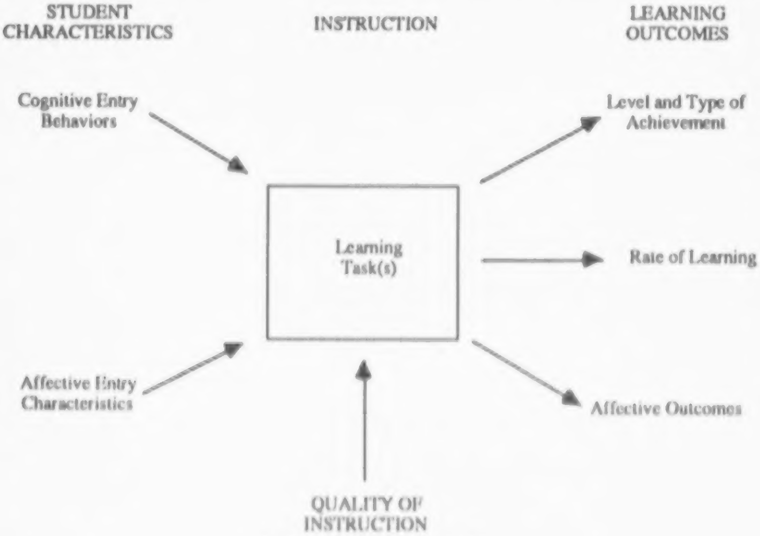
Although a large number of ATI studies have been carried out during the past twenty years, there have been relatively few until recently in the field of second language acquisition. Second language research during the 1960s often involved large-scale methodological comparisons, characterized by designs, in search of the "one best method," which ignored many crucial variables, and yielded inconclusive results (Long, 1980). Such a univariate model of research, which focuses on only one variable (such as method), thus proved to be particularly inappropriate for a field such as second language acquisition, where affective as well as cognitive factors play a major role. The few ATI studies in second language classrooms (see, e.g., Hartnett, 1980) have not led to a satisfactory theory about the performance of certain types of learners under certain conditions. There seems to be a great deal of validity in the conclusion of a 1984 study by Corbett and Smith which attempted to adapt to learning style. This study underscores the difficulty of identifying and accommodating learning style differences in the foreign language classroom.

ADAPTATION: INSTRUCTION-BASED OR LEARNER-BASED?

Individualized instruction and ATI research can be classified as forms of *instruction-based adaptation*, adaptation which stresses the importance of making instruction responsive to the learner rather than vice versa. Instruction-based adaptation involves accommodating the learner's style by altering the learning environment in some way, such as differential allocation of learners to teaching methods, or by varying content presentation, pace, or practice conditions. Adaptations of this sort were advocated during the 1970s by foreign language methodologists such as Naiman (1974), Hosenfeld (1975), Nunney (1977), and Schulz (1977), who all stressed the importance of not coercing learners into a predetermined set of procedures. They also noted that failure on the learner's part due to inappropriate teaching style could then demotivate the learner (through no fault of her own), and this negative affective result might have long-term effects. Naiman (1974), for example, urged second language teachers to eliminate from their lessons any cues which might distract, demotivate, or impede the progress of learners with field dependent cognitive style. This tradition of accommodating to the learner's style, rather than "forcing" her to change, was very much in the tradition of Dunn & Dunn (1979), who investigated learning styles and suggested specific remedies for certain types of learners. An assumption behind this philosophy of adaptation is that the student's style or preference should be accepted "as is," and should not be tampered with, or modified. To do so would be intrusive and unwarranted.

Learner-based adaptation, in contrast, aims at bridging the aptitude-task gap by expanding and enhancing a learner's capacities so as to make her or him more flexible in the face of varying task requirements, and, therefore, more autonomous and "system independent" (Merrill 1975). Instead of assuming, as Cronbach and Snow do, that the environment can and should be adapted to the individual, learner-based adaptation assumes that individuals should be enabled to adapt the environment to themselves. This position is consistent with Bloom's theory of school learning (1976) (See Figure 1). It is also in line with a recent development in educational psychology, the issue of cognitive modifiability (Brainin, 1985). Bloom holds that "the characteristics of the learners as well as the characteristics of the instruction can be modified in order to effect a higher level of learning for individuals and groups" (Bloom, 1976, p. 14). For Bloom, the learner's pre-instructional capacities, cognitive and affective, are crucial to successful classroom performance. His emphasis on the importance of prior knowledge is shared by reading and language theorists who stress the building of background knowledge and skills among readers. Psychologists who investigate cognitive modifiability are concerned with fostering "learning to learn" skills, so that the learner can be more autonomous and have more flexibility. Both these positions are not only echoed in the professional literature on second language learning and teaching in recent years, but also "fit" with the Chomskian notion of language as a system marked by rule-governed creativity. If language events are truly unpredictable, and language learners must learn to cope with the unexpected as part of the definition of their "tasks," then surely the type of adaptation which best prepares them is one which strengthens their capacities, rather than one which simplifies or modifies the task itself.

Figure 1
Major Variables in the Theory of School Learning


STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS
INSTRUCTION
LEARNING OUTCOMES
Cognitive Entry Behaviors
Level and Type of Achievement
Learning Task(s)
Rate of Learning
Affective Entry Characteristics
Affective Outcomes
QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

(Bloom, 1976, p. 11)

CHOOSING AN ADAPTATION MODEL

How, then, can teachers choose which model of adaptation is best for a particular setting? (See Table 1.) Obviously, many factors are involved. Some aspects of learning style, for example, are more modifiable than others (Schmeck & Lockhart, 1983). Very young

Table 1
Two Types of Adaptation

Instruction-Based Adaptation	Learner-Based Adaptation
Accept the learner "as is"	Do not accept the learner "as is"
Adapt the environment	Adapt the learner
Create successful experiences	Delay successful experiences

learners are especially capable of developing cognitive flexibility through exposure to different styles and alternate ways of approaching a task. We know that second language learners tend to exhibit (and claim to prefer) classroom strategies which they have been taught and which they have practiced. This rather obvious statement is meaningful in that by teaching more, and varied, strategies, we then create in learners a wider repertory of choices. Some factors may be related to second language performance but resistant to change, and therefore unworthy of classroom time and attention. A case in point would be the personality trait of extroversion/introversion. Studies have shown that extroverted learners who seek out communicative situations, generate more input, and therefore create more practice opportunities for themselves generally make faster progress in learning the target language than do introverted, non-communicative learners. Extroversion, however, is a personality variable which cannot be imposed on a learner, and such an imposition could be anxiety provoking.

Some strategies or styles, however, are so important to the task of learning a second language that we do our students a disservice if we ignore them, preferring to let each student approach the task as she sees fit. For example, in most ESL situations, oral language is an important source of input and students must learn not only to understand the flow of connected speech at normal speed, but also need the "strategic competence" (Canale & Swain, 1980) to deal with message ambiguities and communication breakdown. Likewise, in settings where written language is an important source of input, as it is almost everywhere, learners need to know the strategies which good readers use to extract meaning from text. There *is* "one best method" for teaching reading—and writing—in the sense that we need to train writers in the importance of revision, and we need to train readers in the importance of making predictions about the meaning of a text.

Finally, as many second language educators have pointed out, the classroom is a place where there is responsibility for teaching the learner, rather than just a place where communication can occur. If this means simplifying the input (instruction-based adaptation), so be it. If it means training the learner in cognitive flexibility by teaching her new strategies she never would have thought of on her own, even better. The classroom may be the only place where this latter sort of adaptation will take place.

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Interviews with Students and Colleagues: What Can We Learn?

In spring 1984, I conducted a study to explore the composing processes of "unskilled" English as a Second Language (ESL) college writers (Brooks, 1987a). One finding was that the "unskilled" writers who had all been placed in the same ESL composition course were not equally "unskilled," but rather represented a range of skills in and knowledge of composing.

Overall, the less skilled writers in the study seemed to have had less experience, and less positive experience as writers and language users. One girl described herself as follows: "I'm caught in between; I'm not fully well developed neither language, French or English" (Brooks, 1987a, p. 6).

In contrast, the more skilled writers were usually confident of their abilities and able to measure themselves by comparing what they were doing in English to what they knew they were capable of in their first language. Describing how she was able to write despite difficulties, Norma said:

> I know that I have, without false modesty, a good deal of natural ability. I'm very concerned about responsibility since if I have to do something, okay I will do. I am a student. I came to school to have a diploma, to graduate, so before I came here, I knew that I was going to have homeworks to do. That's why even when I can't write, I just do it. (Brooks, 1987b, p. 6)

Consequently, I hypothesized there would be greater similarity among these writers after they had passed a college writing assessment test (Wiener, 1983) and gone into Freshman Composition and other mainstream courses requiring written papers or exams.

This paper focuses on some findings of a follow-up study (Brooks, 1987b) in which the composing processes of the ESL students who had passed the writing assessment test were examined and compared to findings of the 1984 study of their composing, when the students had been labeled "unskilled." Specifically, the paper focuses on interviews with the students about papers written for other courses: their understanding of and approach to assignments, response to instructors' feedback, and ideas for revision. In addition, ideas of the students' instructors about the role of writing in their courses, intentions for the assignments students wrote, and reactions to the students' texts are discussed, and implications are included.

THE FALL 1986 STUDY

There had been fourteen students from eight countries in the first study (Brooks, 1987a); six were women and eight were men. The students' average age was 20 and the average length of time in the United States was four years. Using information gathered during the first study, I tried to contact each of the original fourteen students to request their participation in the follow-up study. I was able to interview six personally. (Three had left the college and were working; another had graduated and moved out of state. I was unable to contact four of the original participants at all.)

They met with me twice. During the first session, the students wrote on a topic related to an article I had sent them to read; I interviewed them afterward as to how they had composed the text produced.

Students did not write during the second session, but were interviewed as to what kinds of writing they had been doing and in which courses during the intervening period (1984-1986), how they perceived their development as writers, and how they had composed a text which they shared with me. This second text was a paper written recently (during the current or prior semester) for a professor in another course.

After meeting each student twice, I then arranged an appointment with the instructors for whom students had done written assignments, to gather the instructors' perceptions of the writers and their texts.

FINDINGS

Behavior

It is difficult to comment on students' behavior while they composed the papers written for other courses, since I did not observe them writing, but two points seem worth mentioning. First, students had usually done at least two drafts because of the time available (these assignments were written at home). Yet, no writer had chosen to get help (except Sandy, whose sister mainly helped with some typing) either from a friend or family member or from the resources available at the college (professors, tutors or the Writing Center). Although some writers were confident of doing well on their own, others reported being pressed for time (other coursework or jobs) or uncomfortable, for example, about going to the Writing Center.

Texts

A lot of variation is seen in the papers which were written for non-ESL and non-English department courses. This is at least in part a natural consequence of assignments from different professors and courses. Some instructors had specified a length requirement (i.e., 2 pages or 5-7 pages, usually typed), while others had not. Furthermore, although all the assignments required writers to respond in one way or another to a "text" of some kind, these varied from an excerpt of Socrates' trial (4 pages) for a Classics course, to a classical music concert, to Oscar Lewis' *The Children of Sanchez* (a 500-page book) for a cross-cultural studies course. Some comparisons can still be made.

Papers ranged from 338 to 1,843 words in length, with Sandy writing the longest text, since hers was one of two term papers submitted. (Sandy, who had been the least skilled writer in the earlier study, appears to have overcome her writing block to some extent.) The number of paragraphs and sentences varied considerably (3 to 20 and 13 to 124, respectively) because of the term papers included. It is worth noting that in each case it was Sandy who had written the greatest number of words, sentences and paragraphs—Sandy, who just two years ago had consistently written the least.

Quantity alone, of course, does not tell the whole story. Most of these writers have increased in fluency, vocabulary and idiomatic language during the past two years, except perhaps Kwong-Uie, who seems to have developed least in this respect and may have the least opportunity to use English. Nonetheless, all papers contained unresolved problems of form (language errors), whether done in front of me or at home for another instructor. To keep this in perspective, two points should be remembered: five of the seven have passed Freshman Composition (and its exit proficiency exam) and none sought help with a text even when writing more than one draft. As Zamel (1983) also found, the writers usually focused attention and energy on content and organization and the ideas being expressed, and left editing for the last minute, if at all.

The assignments required students to react to a text; some allowed students to respond personally, while others forced them to deal only with the given text. Consequently, in this study, writers could not just relate personal experience, as some did in 1984, without connections to other sources or more abstract matters.

Papers participants had written often allowed for a mix of reading and personal experience or feelings: Norma's defense of Socrates, Rose's description of her niece in light of theories of child development, or Luc's and Kwong-Uie's responses to classical music concerts. They were usually able to demonstrate clearly and carefully what they had learned in class as well as what they felt or thought about a given situation. Sometimes they did not make clear connections, but it is difficult to say whether they were unable to or chose not to. The paper Rose wrote for an education course focused more on anecdotal, descriptive details about her niece than on ways theories of child development might account for her niece's behavior.

What happens when students cannot lose themselves in personal details and must deal primarily with a text? What do they do when trying to accommodate a "pseudo-audience" such as instructors—"pseudo" because the writers know their instructors may have read the same articles or books, and yet the writers must decide how much information and what kind of details to include in their own texts in a way that is different from determining which personal information the writer cannot assume the audience knows? Two papers in particular required writers to react to texts without leaving room for personal "detours." Euphone's paper analyzed an excerpt from James Madison's *Federalist Papers*. Euphone had enjoyed the assignment and, despite some limitations of language related to idioms and syntax, his paper demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of Madison's ideas within a larger social context, focusing on what Madison had written rather than Euphone's own feelings.

Sandy's paper was an analysis of the relationships in Oscar Lewis' *The Children of Sanchez* among the Sanchez family and the main Mexican social institutions, such as the Church, police and unions. Although Sandy focused on Lewis' text without bringing personal feelings into her paper, she wrote more of a list of the various family members and attempted to describe their feelings about several institutions, rather than analyzing relationships or synthesizing information. She included a brief but rather unclear general introduction to the Sanchez family and Mexico. Then she provided several pages listing family members and institutions without demonstrating how the family represented social attitudes of its time. Her use of pronouns was confusing especially as there were so many possible referents in her text, given the number of family members and social groups which could be referred to as he, she or they. Sandy was dealing with a larger amount of information and a longer text than Euphone, but her paper also reflects a superficial understanding of a whole context and less focused writing.

Strategies

In 1984 distinctions had arisen from differences in strategies available to writers for handling concerns, and especially in the types of changes writers made or problems they experienced while composing. Two years later such distinctions were less apparent. On the whole, writers identified as more skilled during the earlier study continued to manifest many constructive composing strategies, and now were able to handle more complex discourse with greater fluency and confidence despite still making errors or reaching for words.

The writers brought such strategies to the texts they shared with me. Most of the assignments were relatively short, and writers did not appear to have much difficulty doing them; students wrote two-page papers in response to a relatively brief text (3 or 4 pages) they had read or a concert attended. They spoke of attempting to interweave personal response or understanding with knowledge gained from class discussion or a course textbook. Norma made use of her feelings for Socrates, her grasp of his situation and her world knowledge, comparing him to such historical figures as Jesus, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., to construct her defense. Kwong-Uie and Luc employed their newly gained knowledge of music and its terminology to describe concerts they had attended and their reaction to what they had heard. Euphone analyzed Madison within the larger context of a wealthy man trying to preserve his privilege by devising a system of representative government.

Rose and Sandy seemed to have a bit more difficulty, perhaps because they had had larger tasks. Each wrote a longer paper and used more extensive resources. Although Rose observed her niece for the paper on child development, she also cited six references in her bibliography, among these Jean Piaget and Anna Freud. She had less difficulty observing and discussing her niece's specific behavior than she did integrating the reading into her analysis.

Sandy understood the connection between reading and writing in her assignment, but had problems acting upon it. For her term paper, she had had a choice of three topics and had chosen one she thought would be easiest: "This [topic] had a lot to cover and was easiest to write a 5-7 pages paper" (Brooks, 1987b, p. 27). However, it seems Sandy was unable to analyze and organize so much material. Furthermore, she had not heard the instructor say students were to mark the text while reading and she read in a hurry without doing so; consequently, she was unable to make specific references to the Lewis book. Normally, she needs to read twice when underlining in order to get a whole picture and determine what is important. She found *The Children of Sanchez* "long and boring," more difficult than a conventional textbook.

When the writers shared their texts with me, they had usually already made revisions which they were able to articulate. Euphone, for example, had reorganized the first two paragraphs of his paper between drafts because the first had not been "specific" enough and the "transition was not developed properly;" he is aware from a pattern of comments from instructors that he does not always express his ideas clearly, so he continually strives to do so. He ended his paper on Madison when he felt he had made the ending "level" with the opening. If he were to revise the paper further, he would improve the lack of citation and supporting evidence that his instructor had commented upon.

Most of these writers would not revise the texts written for other instructors, other than to rework sentence structure, as they were fairly satisfied with the content and organization, and instructors generally did not allow for it. However, Sandy did mention two aspects that she would work on. One was to include specific references to the book; she did not feel she had done the paper "wrong," but it was not "clear and detailed" because she had forgotten to cite the text. The other was that she would probably change the organization because "it's kind of boring to read it, paragraph after paragraph" (Brooks, 1987b, p. 29). I do not think Sandy, as a writer, has the strategies for reorganizing her text on her own, but it is important that as a reader she recognized a problem with its organization.

Instructors' Responses To Students' Texts

Most instructors focused on the content and organization of student texts over the language, unless language problems interfered with clarity. In general, they expected students to demonstrate in writing that they had understood and could use the information gained from a course or text, and actively think about it.

Euphone's instructor, a political scientist, was impressed by his ability to think politically about James Madison's point of view. He felt the linguistic difficulties in the paper were "minor;" also, Euphone's insufficient use of citation and evidence in the first paper of the semester were "common" writing problems which were "easy" to correct.

Similarly, Norma's (Classics), Luc's and Kwong-Uie's (music) instructors were generally pleased with the way these writers had fulfilled their tasks, in terms of the development and organization of ideas. Interestingly, Norma's paper had originally been given a B-/C+, which the instructor told me was "very reasonable" for him; however, after reading the paper again for our discussion, he said, "Looking back over it, I actually like it better now than I liked it at the time, I hate to say" (Brooks, 1987b, p. 30). It seems that its appearance (Norma's typewriter had broken and the paper was half-typed and not typed well, and half-handwritten) had influenced him as well as the number of papers he had had to read at the time. He now recognized that a lot of work had been put into it, and he enjoyed her "vigorous style" and feelings, despite "minor technical errors" such as spelling and punctuation, and the fact that she had typed "Socrates" in caps.

Kwong-Uie's and Sandy's papers drew the most serious comments in terms of problems, each for a different reason. Kwong-Uie had received a B+, a "good grade," because "this paper was so much better than his first" (Brooks, 1987b, p. 31). His instructor felt he was responsible, willing to learn, and the organization of his paper was equal to the level of many American students, but his level of skill in English limited what he could do. She found the paper "tedious to read because of the wrong words, verb tenses, and so forth" (p. 31). This instructor was the only one I spoke with who had actually met with the writer for conferences; the others usually said they were willing to and told students so, but students generally did not make appointments. In fact, her experience had been the same, but Kwong-Uie had come to see her three times, which she explained as follows: "I think he's a fairly lonely guy. He said he doesn't have friends here" (p. 31). Her suggestion to him would be to get involved with English by reading, watching television and making friends; she appeared to view his problem as a language, rather than a writing, problem.

Sandy's history instructor, on the other hand, had not realized there might be a language problem. He had commented initially on verb tenses and lack of clarity in specific sentences; his end comment was "Your writing makes it very hard to understand your ideas—some of what you wrote is just plain wrong" (p. 31).

He did not know Sandy was a second language student; he had been struck by what he felt were a lack of understanding, perhaps due to not reading enough, and a writing problem. He thought her paper was somewhat off the question and contained incorrect information. He finds the writing of most students in the course (considered upper level) to be poor. If students basically copy from the text, rather than relating the reading to the larger historical context, he gives them a C, which is what Sandy received for her work. He does not feel he has time to meet with students, as his classes are lectures with 65-75 students in them, and he does not permit them to revise unless the grade is below C. If it were possible for him to have Sandy revise, he might speak to her regarding what he had expected and where her paper was off, in an effort to see what she had not understood.

I spoke to another instructor who was co-teaching Sandy's course, and for whom she had also written a paper. He allows students to rewrite papers after he makes some comments, because he acknowledges that an instructor's wording of a question may be poor. He felt Sandy had done fairly well, "not the best or worst" (p. 32) because, although she had some problem with organization, she had the idea, the "basic data."

Overall, instructors responded to what they perceived as sophistication of thought and grasp of material, as well as to the care writers took with their task. Some had given advice prior to students' writing, either orally in class or written on a handout; most did not see writers about their texts, nor did they allow for revision. Although instructors often had not known that a particular writer was an ESL student, they believe that ESL students in their classes are as good or even better than native writers, despite a second language problem.

IMPLICATIONS

In following up on these students in order to compare their composing processes, it was assumed there would be greater similarity among them after passing a writing assessment test and taking a freshman composition course. Since improving their writing had been essential to staying in college, I returned to these writers to learn about their development during the past two years.

How can the findings of this study help educators to retain ESL students and facilitate their growth, specifically as writers? The findings seem to make a strong argument for extensive support services, yet one striking point was that students do not always use the resources available.

Support services should be available after basic skills have been acquired, while students continue to develop what they may have only begun. Minimum competence in reading and writing is not sufficient for students; it may permit them to enter Freshman Composition and other courses, but may not get them through. Perhaps students who have demonstrated potential difficulties through patterns of repetition, withdrawal or failure (such as Sandy or Kwong-Uie in their ESL or English courses) should be followed more carefully and specifically required to use particular support services.

Despite being academically prepared for college work, some ESL students may not progress if they are isolated or lack social support. As a computer science major, Kwong-Uie only wrote papers for his English and core curriculum courses. He was not a self-activated user of English and had a poor self-image as a language learner; therefore, he felt he had little chance of succeeding in college.

As part of their coursework, students were asked to respond to a variety of texts for assignments. ESL professionals working with such students ought to include exposure to a variety of materials (or interdisciplinary perspectives on a given topic) in their courses, as well as helping students to develop reading and writing strategies for adapting to different materials. The assignments students are asked to do in college courses require forming connections between personal thoughts or feelings and readings. ESL instructors can help students learn how to gauge a task (choose a topic, manage resources, mark texts and organize information) as well as the information necessary to provide a context for an audience, to develop and maintain a sense of the whole paper. In other words, instructors need to recognize that ESL students may not be developing simply as English language learners, but simultaneously as users of written language at higher levels of skill, such as analysis and synthesis.

Even when students had time to compose, they did not seek help. Professionals working with these students ought to find ways to increase students' use of available resources. We might find ways to explore their reasons and feelings, and try to accommodate them. How might professors or a writing center meet students' needs? Should some students be required to work with particular resources?

Furthermore, given that ESL students who had passed the writing exam and taken Freshman Composition still demonstrate linguistic and rhetorical problems in their papers for other courses, what are "realistic" expectations for exit from an ESL program? Perhaps ESL, English and "non-language" faculty members would find it mutually beneficial to discuss their language and writing expectations; joint seminars could be held to discuss the long-term development of all students and types of on-going support to offer students beyond establishing minimal competence.

Finally, discussing these students and their written work with colleagues, I became aware of several factors which seemed to influence their reaction; ability to think, organization and development of ideas, style, attitude and effort, and text appearance could outweigh or at least minimize limitations of skill in English. Since students did not often meet with instructors individually or have opportunities to revise, their written work might be a "one-shot" representation of who they are and what they can do. Greater communication among faculty members, perhaps through college-wide or interdepartmental seminars and small-group discussions, could raise awareness on both sides (ESL and non-ESL) of the overlap between language and content, and students' development as users of both. We might break down the tendency to separate students and classes along these lines and no longer expect one to happen before or without the other.

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Cognitive Strategies for Integrating ESL and Content Area Instruction

High school ESL teachers are generally expected to prepare their students for content area instruction. When a student does not integrate easily into a content area classroom, advice from the ESL teacher may be sought, or, in rare cases, content area teachers attempt to get ESL training to better cope with those students who are at a linguistic disadvantage in their classes.

What has emerged in my work with high school teachers who share concerns about mainstreaming ESL students is a realization that the questions which are being asked might be misdirected, or at least that only half the story is being shared. Cognitive strategies that are currently advocated for improving comprehension of the content areas are effectively used with the material selected for improving one's ability to comprehend and use the English language. They can help students learn English and, at the same time, prepare them for higher level thinking skills embedded in subject areas.

In this article, five strategies will be discussed, utilizing a segment of a short story to illustrate ways in which the strategies can be implemented in ESL instruction. Subsequent examples will be shown to illustrate the incorporation of these strategies into instruction with expository text in the content areas. These strategies are presented in sequence. A teacher may choose to use all five strategies or select a combination of them in working with a reading selection. Although the examples deal with reading selections, it should be noted that these same strategies are effectively applied to the teaching of listening (Numrich, 1987).

PREDICTING

Students become better readers, listeners and learners when their background knowledge of a subject is activated before presenting new material to them. Studies have shown that if students can predict meaning on the basis of their own experience, they become better learners (Langer, 1981, 1984). Brainstorming activities are typically used to activate students' prior knowledge. Moreover, if the title of a text is open-ended, predicting content from a title can be a useful strategy for eliciting vocabulary and concepts that will appear in the text, while raising the students' curiosity about the text. The following short story, by Roald Dahl, has been used in high school ESL instruction. Predicting strategies are demonstrated by asking students to guess the content of the story from the title, which is written on the board:

"Mrs. Bixby and the Colonel's Coat"

Students might predict such things as:

-who the Colonel is.
-what his relationship to Mrs. Bixby is.
-what the significance of the coat is.
-what kind of a coat it is, etc.

As the students' ideas are written on the board, the students naturally evaluate each other's predictions and a discussion will emerge. Furthermore, the students' predictions give the students a purpose in reading the story, as they will read to find out whether or not their predictions were accurate.

Certain titles from expository text can also elicit student predictions. For example, the following titles have been used to predict content before students read a chapter from their textbook:

"How do Soils Differ in Different Climates?" (Science)
"Why did Americans Move West?" (Social Studies)
"Reading a Thermometer" (Mathematics)

ANTICIPATION GUIDE

Once students have activated prior knowledge through prediction from a title of a reading selection, they may be given a chance to further "develop" background information by focusing more on the concepts, tone, and vocabulary which will be presented in the text. By designing a series of statements which incorporate the ideas presented in the text, a teacher can ask students to anticipate what will be read (Nelson-Herber, 1985). Students first agree or disagree with a statement based on their own experience; then, after a first reading of the text, they discuss whether or not the statements are supported by the story in light of the author's intent and purpose. For example, based on the events of Roald Dahl's short story, the following statements may or may not be supported. The students are first asked to check the statements with which they agree under the "YOU" column, discussing them in pairs or groups. Once the students have read the story, or a portion of it, they decide whether or not the author would agree with the statements, based on the tone of his story. They check those statements under the "STORY" column.

YOU STORY

____ ____ 1. Dentistry is an interesting profession.

____ ____ 2. In some situations, telling a lie may be better than telling the truth.

____ ____ 3. You should never trust a stranger.

____ ____ 4. Men have a keener sense of how to handle money than women.

The anticipation guide consists of fairly broad generalizations relating to both life experience and ideas presented in the text. Because of this, they stimulate class discussion and encourage critical thinking, both before reading and after. Finally, as students read with a purpose (to check if, by the author's tone, he or she would agree with the statements), they read more attentively.

The same strategy can be used with expository text in the content areas. Statements can be designed to activate students' prior knowledge or experience related to the subject matter of a text and later used as a guide to check comprehension of key concepts presented in that text. For example, these three statements were taken from an anticipation guide which was developed for a lesson on "The Geography of Africa." Students first check the "YOU" column if they believe the statement is true. After a discussion, they read the chapter, checking the "BOOK" column if they think the statement is supported by the content of the reading.

YOU BOOK

_____ _____ 1. Africa is the largest continent in the world.

_____ _____ 2. Waterfalls and rapids make it difficult to travel Africa's rivers.

_____ _____ 3. Animals are in danger of becoming extinct in Africa.

READING GUIDES

Students can also be encouraged to use statements to check their comprehension of a text during reading. Reading guides were developed to integrate reading-thinking processes at three levels of comprehension—literal, interpretive, and applied (Herber, 1978, 1985). It is generally useful to students learning a second language to work with these guides, as they learn to distinguish levels of comprehension they often find to be confusing. My experience suggests that ESL students often have difficulty discriminating between what a text says and what can be interpreted from information read; they often confuse finding main idea statements with inference tasks. Moreover, ESL texts rarely deal with comprehension exercises at the applied level, drawing on what the student already knows in relation to what can be learned from a text.

The following statements are examples from reading guides that were created for the story "Mrs. Bixby and the Colonel's Coat." Students work at the three levels of comprehension as they work with the story. In order to understand how the students would work with the three levels, read the first part of the story. Then notice how the statements focus on three levels of comprehension: literal, interpretive and applied. It should be noted that, in designing these guides, at least one statement which cannot be supported by the text would normally be included in each category. Each category would also have four or five statements.

MRS. BIXBY AND THE COLONEL'S COAT

by Roald Dahl

Mr. and Mrs. Bixby lived in a smallish apartment somewhere in New York City. Mr. Bixby was a dentist who made an average income. Mrs. Bixby was a big vigorous woman with a wet mouth. Once a month, always on Friday afternoons, Mrs. Bixby would board the train at Pennsylvania Station and travel to Baltimore to visit her old aunt. She would spend the night with the aunt and return to New York on the following day in time to cook supper for her husband. Mr. Bixby accepted this arrangement good-naturedly. He knew that Aunt Maude lived in Baltimore, and that his wife was very fond of the old lady, and certainly it would be unreasonable to deny either of them the pleasure of a monthly meeting.

'Just so long as you don't ever expect me to accompany you,' Mr. Bixby had said in the beginning.

'Of course not, darling,' Mrs. Bixby had answered. 'After all, she is not your aunt. She's mine.'

So far so good.

As it turned out, however, the aunt was little more than a convenient alibi for Mrs. Bixby. The dirty dog, in the shape of a gentleman known as the Colonel, was lurking slyly in the background, and our heroine spent the greater part of her Baltimore time in this scoundrel's company. The Colonel was exceedingly wealthy. He lived in a charming house on the outskirts of the town. No wife or family encumbered him, only a few discreet and loyal servants, and in Mrs. Bixby's absence he consoled himself by riding his horses and hunting the fox.

One Saturday, Mrs. Bixby was at the station waiting for the train home, when the Colonel's servant came up to her with a parcel. He said it was from the Colonel. When she opened it in the train, she found a mink coat, and this message.

I once heard you saying you were fond of mink so I got you this. I'm told it's a good one. Please accept it with my sincere good wishes as a parting gift. For my own personal reasons I shall not be able to see you any more. Good-bye and good luck.

> Mrs. Bixby was terribly excited . . . However, after a second, she suddenly said to herself,
>
> 'The man must be mad!' . . . 'Aunt Maude doesn't have that sort of money. She couldn't possibly give me this.'
>
> But if Aunt Maude didn't give it to her, then who did?

Literal

_____ 1. The Colonel lived in Baltimore.

_____ 2. Mr. Bixby accepted his wife's trips to Baltimore good naturedly.

Interpretive

_____ 1. Mrs. Bixby felt an obligation to cook for her husband.

_____ 2. Mrs. Bixby was upset that the Colonel left her.

Applied

_____ 1. Extramarital affairs are common in New York City.

_____ 2. Mink coats are a girl's best friend.

Reading guides also improve students' reading comprehension in content areas in that the statements designed by the teacher present relevant concepts from the reading, while encouraging the student to interact with the text. The guides are especially useful for students of limited English proficiency in content area reading because the guides serve as a link between the student and text and promote student discussion.

PATTERN GUIDES

Once students have worked through the comprehension of a text, a useful strategy for them is to analyze the organization of the text. Texts are generally organized into one of the following patterns: cause/effect, comparison/contrast, time order, enumeration, problem/

solution (Vacca and Vacca, 1986). A useful strategy is to present the students with half of the pattern and ask them to identify the missing half. This is particularly useful for ESL students as they are asked to conceptually piece together relationships in a text and paraphrase general concepts in complete statements; their statements must also correspond to the statements presented, i.e., verb tense agreement, pronoun reference, etc. In the short story "Mrs. Bixby and the Colonel's Coat," the text is organized according to problems and solutions—Mrs. Bixby is constantly confronted with a problem for which she must find a solution. The following statements are taken from a pattern guide that was created for the story:

Problem: ____

Solution: Mrs. Bixby used Aunt Maude as an alibi.

Problem: ____

Solution: The Colonel gave Mrs. Bixby a mink coat as a parting gift.

Problem: ____

Solution: Mrs. Bixby decided to take the coat to a pawnbroker.

The strategy of analyzing text organization is also useful for studies in the content areas, as it teaches students to look for conceptual relationships in a text. By focusing on the linguistic and conceptual links in a text, students are better able to retain information with a deeper comprehension of it.

CATEGORIZATION

Bruner (1967) indicates that categorization is the basis for thinking. By categorizing, we are able to mentally group together objects that have differences; yet, through varying degrees of similarity, we can conceptually classify items based on what they have in common. Classifying facilitates student comprehension of similarities and differences by helping them to compare and contrast items within groups or among groups.

The following vocabulary exercise can be used either prior to reading a text as a preparation for reading, or after reading as a reinforcement exercise. The following is an example from a categorizing exercise created for the story "Mrs. Bixby and the Colonel's Coat"; the students are asked to examine the following groups of words for vocabulary review. In each set they cross out the one word which does not belong, while discussing why the others fit into a category. Dictionary use is encouraged in this activity.

1. *flabbergasted*	pleased	shocked	dumbfounded
2. *fatuous*	foolish	frivolous	famous
3. *alibi*	excuse	reason	alias
4. *dirty dog*	scoundrel	gentleman	wily old fox
5. *finicky*	funny	fussy	fastidious

In groups, students review specific vocabulary from the story. Although they are asked to focus on a few words, they are given access to many words as they examine the relationships among them and discuss how they fit (or do not) into categories. In their discussions, students become more active in defining meaning for technical vocabulary as they build upon conceptual frameworks. Notice how the categorization strategy can be applied to vocabulary from expository text. This exercise was used to review vocabulary from a unit in a science text:

1. *forest*	rain	trees	sunshine
2. *leaching*	minerals	sand	topsoil
3. *desert*	rain	dry	hot
4. *grassland*	fertile	humus	mountains
5. *tundra*	growth	cold	frozen

CONCLUSION

The five strategies presented in this article encourage the processing skills of comprehension rather than the products of comprehension, which are often taught atomistically and in isolation from the context of real comprehension tasks. The strategies teach rather than test comprehension. Making maximum use of student background information and experience in dealing with new material supports the students' ability to deal with the cognitive demands in text and subject area instruction. If ESL students are given these strategies to work within the context of learning a second language, they will be better equipped to deal with expository text as they begin to be mainstreamed into content area instruction. A collaboration between ESL and content area teachers needs to occur not only at the level of helping students with English skills, but, more important, at the level of teaching them cognitive strategies that will help them become more efficient learners.

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Part IV

For Further Reading

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Realizing the Dream: A Bibliographic Essay

The 1987 NYS TESOL Conference theme, *Realizing the Dream: The New Immigrants*, was refreshing in its holistic and optimistic approach to the teaching of English as a second language, a field in which teachers are becoming increasingly professional and specialized. It was inspiring to be reminded of the broader social and political scene outside our schools, and to reflect upon the roles which students and teachers play in a larger context.

Like many practicing teachers, I feel myself drawn ever more tightly into the small, albeit critical, domain of my own classroom. At times, it seems difficult to break out of that challenging and rewarding vortex, even to keep up with current trends and ideas in the field. Thus, I was motivated to do a review of the literature on "the new immigrants" and to share my reading with other teachers, particularly those working in public schools, adult refugee programs and community colleges, who might not have easy access to extensive libraries.

I began with an ERIC search which, even using limited descriptors, yielded over one hundred references to journal articles and documents published on the topics of "immigrants or refugees, and cultural adjustment or language acquisition" in the past five years. The folly of my thinking was immediately apparent; a comprehensive review of the literature was beyond my scope. Nevertheless, I decided to proceed with a survey or "sampler" approach to familiarize myself and colleagues with some of the literature available. In all, I screened some two hundred articles, the most pertinent of which I mention in this paper, or include in the accompanying bibliography. I reviewed articles on a variety of subjects, which can be roughly categorized into four groups: children, adults, literacy, and parent involvement.

Unfortunately, there is disappointingly little written about the youngest immigrants—children, adolescents and the growing population of children born in the United Sates to immigrant parents. One recent book is *Children and ESL: Integrating Perspectives* (Rigg and Enright, 1986). Although the chapters are interesting, particularly the exhortation by Cazden for ESL teachers to be language advocates for children, there is little new information for professionals actively involved in teaching students of this age group. However, it is a useful compendium, especially the reading chapter by Rigg.

One of the few articles dealing specifically with adolescents is "Language Across the Curriculum" (Coelho, 1982). Coelho examines the types of linguistics skills required of secondary school students in mainstream classes, and capsulizes them onto a three-page chart. Both the outline and the discussion are of interest to teachers and administrators who develop curricula and teaching materials, but must be considered in light of other, more theoretical frameworks.

While the above authors address academic questions, several researchers deal with the affective aspects of settling in a new land. Of special note are two articles published in *TESL Talk*, a Canadian journal. In "Immigrant Children and the Importance of Self-Esteem in Second Language Acquisition," Berryman (1983) posits that self-esteem is a critical variable in second language acquisition, especially among immigrant children who have suffered severe emotional upheaval. It is a valuable article, because it brings findings in the field of psychology to bear on the problems faced in ESL. Berryman defines self-esteem, distinguishing three types (global, specific and task), and examines concepts which are central to an understanding of self-esteem (including empathy, anxiety, attitude and inhibition), as they are relevant to the immigrant child. There is a perceptive paragraph on early adolescents, an age group often neglected in the literature, but included in both Berryman's work and that of Luke and Seesahai, who wrote "Reassessing the Social Needs of the Secondary ESL Student: Notes Toward an Integrated Approach" (1983).

Luke and Seesahai, who are thoroughly grounded in a Freirean approach, pose some challenging ideas in considering the question, "How do we go about encouraging a critical attitude among students which will enable maximal social participation and the avoidance of institutional exploitation?" (p. 47). Luke and Seesahai discuss racism, occupational mobility and biculturalism. They conclude by recommending an integrated approach, combining linguistically-based materials, a basic-skills organization and a Freirean/language experience method (p. 52). This article is stimulating because it confronts many of the underlying yet often unspoken issues faced by secondary school teachers.

"Impact on Resettlement on Refugee Children" (Huyck and Fields, 1981) cites evidence which suggests that the effects of exposure to extended violence and terror are likely to be more pronounced in children than in adults, and that there is a very high risk factor for children aged six to eleven years, especially boys. However, these authors report that trauma (including separation) suffered before the age of three to six months will not result in adverse psychological consequences. Huyck and Field stress the importance of cultural continuity in adaptation (usually provided by ethnic enclaves) and of treating the family as a whole. They believe that it is very helpful if the agents of institutions are from the same culture, which is good news for the growing number of refugees acting as sponsors to new families.

Unlike children, adult second language learners are the focus of considerable research covering a wide range of concerns. Kleinmann (1985) articulates the dilemma felt by teachers of adult Southeast Asian refugees when he observes that traditional theory and practice are often unsuccessful. Following Krashen's line of thinking, Kleinmann suggests that adult refugees may be "low input generators" not actively involved with the second language; that, indeed, they are "retreating from second language interactions and reluctant to exploit practice opportunities" (p. 13).

Other researchers have also noted that the ESL classroom is often the only source of input for adult refugees (d'Anglejan, 1984; Weinstein, 1984). They are unanimous in recommending a natural, informal, communicative approach, perhaps outside a formal classroom setting. Since my experience suggests that most teachers of adult refugees employ such methods, it is surprising not to find more articles describing specific programs and techniques, and I hope to see more on this topic in the future. It would be interesting, for example, to learn to what factors proficient refugee learners attribute their success, and to know what techniques successful teachers use.

Two statistical studies of adult immigrant language acquisition were conducted by d'Anglejan et al. (1986) and Trevise and Forquier (1986). The former compared two groups of language learners (Southeast Asians and a mixed group comprised mainly of Poles and Latin Americans). Foreign Service Institute interviews were used to measure oral proficiency at the close of a thirty-week intensive language program, and six months later. The results were discouraging, as only minimal proficiency levels were attained. Trevise and Forquier described a study involving Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in France, which is noteworthy for the European perspective it provides.

Of course, literature abounds in various aspects of language acquisition by adult learners, but the focus is generally on foreign students at the university level. There is definitely a need for more research involving non-university adult learners, including immigrants who acquire English without formal instruction.

The studies mentioned above share a common concern for the difficulties adult immigrants experience in learning a new language. Some writers are now focusing their attention on methods and curricula as possible factors. Influenced by the thinking of Brazilian educator Paolo Freire (1985, 1981, 1970a, 1970b), many teachers are beginning to reexamine basic assumptions underlying commonly-used curricula and materials. Auerbach (1986) identified eight key characteristics of competency-based adult education and examined their suitability for ESL instruction. She believes that a competency-based approach teaches students to "receive" rather than "generate" knowledge; limits students to specific predetermined social and economic roles; inhibits the development of critical thinking; and indeed, may be culturally biased, since, for example, competency-based programs measure progress quantitatively and behaviorally, and are individually- and goal-oriented. In an earlier article, Auerbach and Burgess (1985) analyzed a range of selections for survival ESL texts, and found that they neither accurately reflect immigrants' reality or empower them to shape that reality. Auerbach's assessment of competency-based education is powerful and thought-provoking, and relevant to all teachers who are being encouraged to teach specific task-oriented skills.

Keeping in mind Auerbach's critique of a life-skills approach and its limitations, there are two adult language programs described in the literature which provide good examples of such an approach, but which could be incorporated into a more comprehensive adult program. One is precisely English-for-employment (Beare, 1984), which constitutes the final three weeks of a 24-week course. This is a practical report which even includes the curriculum.

A second, "Hearing-specific Citizenship Education for ESL Adults" (Grozinski, 1984), begins with a discussion of the definition of citizenship and then presents a course-planning model. The author considers the identification of learner needs, methodology and evaluation, and gives examples of worksheets. This, too, is a very practical article which is sure to be of interest to teachers who help prepare immigrants for citizenship. It is hoped, however, that competency-based components will be added to programs with Auerbach's critique and Freire's problem posing method in mind.

Currently, Freire's philosophy is widely discussed among professionals involved in the development of literacy. He has written extensively, and his ideas have been adapted to the field of ESL, most notably by Wallerstein. In "The Teaching Approach of Paolo Freire" (1983a), Wallerstein explains Freire's basic tenets, such as the belief that people are "active creators of culture, not passive recipients of history" (p. 191) and that they can be agents of change. There are three stages in the Freirean method: listening, dialogue and action. The teacher's role, rather than as a conveyor of information, is that of "participant in a two-way process" (p. 191). Problem-posing is the inductive questioning process which shapes dialogue. *Language and Culture in Conflict: Problem-posing in the ESL Classroom* (1983b) is Wallerstein's textbook based on Freire's method.

Another valuable source of information about recent trends in literacy is Weinstein's article, "Literacy and Second Language Acquisition: Issues and Perspectives" (1984). It is an excellent overview of literacy research. Weinstein reviews several conflicting theories as she discusses the relationship between cognition and literacy, culturally different forms of literacy, and the social organization of literacy. The notion that literacy is not "a set of mechanical coding and decoding skills, but rather a way of processing information which will affect ways of interacting" (p. 477) seems especially pertinent to ESL instruction, and complementary to Freire's philosophy.

The effect of native language literacy on second language acquisition is the subject of a study being conducted among Haitian immigrants (Burtoff, 1984 as reported in Penfield, 1986). Preliminary findings suggest that native language literacy instruction enhances self-esteem and aids in the second language development process, just as Cummins' research points to the development of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in the native language as a significant factor in the acquisition of CALP in a second language (1980a). Penfield, recognizing that the multitude of languages spoken by immigrants makes adult bilingual education unrealistic, recommends a re-examination of heterogeneous grouping (in which students of mixed literacy and/or proficiency levels are placed together). She also questions the appropriateness of a formal school setting for adult limited English proficient (LEP) literacy instruction and offers a sheltered workshop setting as a possible alternative.

The question of adult LEP literacy takes on an increased significance in light of data gathered in a literacy survey conducted by the Census Bureau in 1982. These data indicate that 13% of the U.S. adult population is nonliterate (a figure considered by many to be low; some estimate it to be as high as 20%). Of this 13%, 37% do not speak English at home; 82% were born outside of the United States; 21% entered the U.S. within the last six years; 42% live in neighborhoods where English is the second language; and up to 82% are nonliterate in their native language (1982 Census Bureau Literacy Survey, as reported in Bliss, 1986). Haverson (1986) reports that 48% of the LEP adults surveyed are nonliterate.

It is clear, then, that literacy is a major issue for ESL professionals working with adults, but it also has serious ramifications for teachers of school-aged children, because of the effect that parents' literacy has on their involvement in their children's education. Haverson rightly points out that the low literacy rate among LEP parents has enormous implications for school involvement, affecting everything from parents' ability to read school messages to their effectiveness at promoting the development of skills and knowledge that the parents themselves do not possess. Haverson recommends that teachers be aware of the high level of illiteracy among LEP parents, that literacy programs develop meaningful activities for the home, and that educators view literacy as empowerment, in a Freirean sense (p. 60). In addition, he presents a taxonomy of ten meaning-centered objectives (drawn from the theories of Goodman and Frank) which could easily and most satisfactorily form the nucleus of a literacy curriculum for learners of any age (p. 59).

Given the high rate of illiteracy among LEP parents, it is unsettling to learn that the techniques most frequently used by teachers to involve parents at home stress reading and books. In an extensive study of English-speaking teachers, administrators, parents and students, Epstein (1986) found that the three strategies most often used are: asking parents to read to their children or listen to them read; requesting parents to take their children to the library;

and loaning books and teaching materials to parents for use with youngsters at home (p. 9). Epstein states that other practices were used less frequently and were reported by teachers to be less effective. Paradoxically, these other activities are precisely the kind that LEP parents (literate or not) could more easily participate in. They include discussions, parent observations, contacts and informal learning (not to mention the sharing of non-academic skills such as gardening and sewing that could be used as the basis of in-class academic development). Perhaps ESL teachers could encourage their colleagues in other content areas to request assistance of this kind in order to ensure the participation of LEP parents.

Another scholar (Collier, 1986) places the issue of LEP parent involvement squarely in the larger context of majority-minority parent involvement. She emphasizes the diversity of minority parents as a group, while noting that school reinforces the linguistic and cultural identity of majority parents. She observes that American education in the twentieth century has been characterized by a conflict of power between parents (the community) and professional educators, and is a strong advocate of two-way bilingual programs. For communities where that is not feasible, the following suggestion is noteworthy: "Linking the life of the school with that of the community in all its diversity is one means of helping all parents achieve a stronger sense of ownership in the education of their children" (p. 74).

Teachers and administrators who are looking for ways to improve home-school communication and are considering a survey of parents will find Blakely's report (1983) useful. The report explains the survey method employed and the results obtained in one school district serving Southeast Asian refugees.

The desire for enhanced home-school communication prompted the Nebraska State Department of Education to write a multilingual parent guide (1984). Although it is specific to Nebraska schools, it is comprehensive and could easily be adapted to any district. It is available in five bilingual editions (English-Hmong, -Lao, -Spanish, -Khmer and -Vietnamese) and covers an extensive list of topics, including enrollment, curriculum, physical education, homework and grades, clothing and grooming, absences and illnesses, disciplinary action and moving. It is written in straightforward and jargon-free English. Since the Spanish edition was well written and culturally appropriate, we can hope that the other translations are equally good.

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Another bilingual parent guide (available in English-Khmer, -Lao, -Vietnamese and -Spanish) is intended for a vocationally oriented bilingual curriculum, but in fact consists of bilingual lesson activities for parents and students to do together, some of which are general in nature and could serve as models for a parent involvement handbook. The activities about open house, attendance rules and club participation are examples.

Parent involvement is but one of many issues, questions and concerns addressed in the growing body of ESL literature. While some exciting research is on a theoretical level, much of what is written has direct implication for classroom practice. It is hoped that this brief survey will serve to familiarize teachers with a sampling of the professional literature available to us, and to inspire more teachers to contribute their ideas and expertise.

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ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING RESOURCES[1]

The Asia Society, 725 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10007. (212) 288-6400

Center for Applied Linguistics, 1118 22nd Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. (202) 429-9292

Center for Migration Studies, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, NY 10304. (718) 351-8800

Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208. (303) 871-3106

Center for US-Mexican Studies, D-010, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093. (619) 452-4503.

Central American Resource Center, PO Box 2327, Austin, TX 78768. (512) 476-9841

Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 Eye Street NW, Washington, DC 20530. (202) 633-2000, or INS, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, NY 10278. (212) 206-6500

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ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies, Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, 2805 East Tenth Street, Bloomington, IN 47405. (812) 335-3838

Foreign Policy Association, 205 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016. (212) 481-8450

Freedom House, 48 East 21st Street, New York, NY 10010. (212) 473-9691

Global Perspectives in Education, 218 East 18th Street, New York, NY 10003. (212) 475-0850.

Information Center on Children's Cultures, US Committee for UNICEF, 331 East 38th Street, New York, NY 10016. (212) 686-5522. (Please provide a stamped, self-addressed envelope with written requests for information.)

New Immigrants in the California Classroom History Project, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. (415) 642-4782. Paula Gillett, Project Coordinator.

Refugee Policy Group, 1424 16th Street NW, Suite 401, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 387-3015.

Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). Lou Henry Hoover Bulding, Room 200, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2319. (415) 497-1114.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Palais des Nations. CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. Phone 022-31-02-61.

United States Committee for Refugees, 20 West 40th Stret, New York, NY 10018. (212) 398-9142. (USCR is a specialized program of the American Council for Nationalities Service.)